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TECHNOLOGIES IN INTERPRETER-MEDIATED CRIMINAL COURT HEARINGS

an Actor-Network Theory account of the interpreter's perception of her role-space

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List of Acronyms

AIIC	International Association of Conference Interpreters
ANT	Actor-Network Theory
APCI	Association of Police and Court Interpreters
Auslan	Australian Signed Language
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CioL	Chartered Institute of Linguists
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
DDA	Double Dance of Agency
Dip Trans	Diploma in Translation
DPSI	Diploma in Public Service Interpreting
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
FIT	International Federation of Translators
HCI	Human Computer Interaction
HMN	Human-Machine Network
IME	Interpreter-Mediated Event
IP	Internet Protocol
IS	Interpreting Studies
ISDN	Integrated Services Digital Network
ITI	Institute of Translation and Interpreting
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
Met Test	Metropolitan Police Test
MLS	Minority Language Speaker
NRPSI	National Register of Public Service Interpreters
PSI	Public Service Interpreting
RI	Remote Interpreting
TI	Telephone Interpreting
TS	Translation Studies
VC	Videoconference
VCI	Videoconference Interpreting
VoIP	Voice over Internet Protocol

Abstract

Her Majesty's Courts Service in England and Wales has been subject to various changes within the past seventeen years. New working methods have been adopted, while the introduction of technologies has revolutionised the legal sphere. Since 2000, courts in England and Wales have indeed been increasingly using videoconference (VC) technologies to speed up the legal process, to enhance security, and to reduce costs, all of this in a context of budgetary constraints. Such VC pieces of equipment mean that all parties are not required to be physically in attendance in court for a case to be heard. In fact, a defendant may attend his pre-trial court hearing from his detention centre since the courtroom and the prison will be linked via cameras, screens, and microphones. Interestingly, the court interpreter can be called to interpret in either location.

Even though some may embrace the advent of technological tools available in court interpreting, the effect that they may have is still unknown. Some studies have explored various linguistic and para-linguistic features of Videoconference Interpreting (VCI). However, although the court interpreter's role, from a conduit to that of an active participant, has been widely researched in Interpreting Studies (e.g. Hale, 2008; Martin and Ortega Herráez, 2009), the role of the court interpreter when interpreting via VC systems is an under-researched field.

In this context, this thesis examines the interpreter's perception of her role, whether she is located in court or in prison, through the analysis of eighteen interviews conducted with practising court interpreters. Building on research carried out on the use of VCI in court and the court interpreter's role in a face-to-face setting, this study adopts an interdisciplinary approach by examining the interpreter's role perception through the lens of role-space and that of Actor-Network Theory.

It is argued that the interpreter's perception of her role-space varies, depending on whether she considers herself, in Actor-Network Theory terms, as a *primum movens* or not, alongside the role-space axes of presentation of self, participant alignment, and/or interaction management. Furthermore, the court interpreter deploys many-but-mostly-covert role interessement devices to ensure that the other court actors rally on the interpreter's perception of her role. This thesis ends

with various recommendations as to how the court interpreter can re-align her role-space when interpreting in VCI.

Key words: *Actor-Network Theory, Court Interpreting, Role Perception, Role-Space, Videoconference Interpreting.*

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Introduction

Interpreting can be traced back to Antiquity, and Hermann (2002) narrates that interpreters were key figures in mediating between Egyptians and Nubians in Ancient Egypt, and between Roman senators and Greek envoys in the Senate. In fact, interpreters are present throughout History. Indeed, during the Spanish colonisation of South America, and the British and French invasion of Canada and the United States of America interpreters played various roles, acting as spies, guides, businessmen, and traders (Harris, 1997; Niska, 2002). Later, interpreters were also key agents in the Christianisation of countries outside Europe such as New Zealand (Guéry, 2014; Jones & Jenkins, 2004). In the 1950s and 1960s, interpreting became more professionalized with the birth of the prestigious International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) and the creation of conference interpreting courses (Harris, 1997). However, it is only decades later that community interpreting has gained more visibility. Although Roberts (1997, p. 7) claims that community interpreting is “the oldest ‘type’ of interpreting in the world”, community interpreting, both as a profession and an academic research area became more visible only in the 1970s and 1980s onwards. The rise of community interpreting in the post-World War II era can partly be explained, as Gentile, Ozolins, and Vasilakoka (1996) argue, by social and economic factors which encouraged migration trends on a more global scale.

Defining Public Service Interpreting and Court Interpreting

When various countries such as the UK, the United States of America, and Sweden turned their attention to community interpreting as an emerging field of research in the 1990s, several terms were coined to describe the activity carried out by interpreters in an intra-social public setting. As argued by Gentile *et al.* (1996), *face-to-face interpreting*, *contact interpreting*, *ad hoc interpreting*, *three-cornered interpreting* and *cultural interpreting* are all terms used to define the interpreter¹ working in public service settings such as hospitals, courts, or housing. This is a non-exhaustive list, and Roberts (1997), for instance, adds further terms such as *dialogue interpreting*, *public service interpreting*, *liaison interpreting*,

¹ For purely stylistic reasons, the term ‘interpreter’ will sometimes be replaced by the feminine personal or possessive pronouns she or her, whereas he/his/ him will refer to either the defendant or the witness.

escort interpreting, and *medical and legal interpreting*. Within this context, Roberts (1997) argues that community interpreting is ill-defined, encompassing as it does many different fields. It could be argued that this array of terms could be partly explained by the absence of international coordination amongst researchers, and by the various Public Service Interpreting (PSI) paradigms that were mainly studied within the physical boundaries of a country, therefore bringing into their research contextual social and economic factors defined at national level.

In the UK, the term 'PSI' seems to be the term the most often used amongst professional interpreters and researchers, and the official register for court interpreters, the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011, p. 2), defines the public service interpreter as "an interpreter who works in the context of public services, such as the legal profession, health services and local government- related services, which include housing, education, welfare, environmental health and social services." Given the array of terms emanating from the body of research, and in light of the scope of this study, 'Public Service Interpreting' and 'public service interpreter' will be the terms hereafter used in this thesis.

When examining the interpreter within a courtroom, Morris argues that courtroom interpreting is part of legal interpreting, but it occurs in the following context:

interpreting services are required in oral judicial proceedings in order to overcome difficulties in communication. Other-language speakers may include witnesses, defendant, legal counsel, jurors and judges, who need such services so that the legal procedure – pre-trial hearings, trial, sentencing – can take place. (Morris, 2015, p. 91)

In her definition, it is interesting to note that the interpreter in fact interprets in a variety of court proceedings, and for an array of participants in court. As this thesis focuses on court interpreters in England and Wales², and in order to remain in line with Morris (2015)'s definition, the term court interpreter hereafter refers to a public service interpreter interpreting in a courtroom environment during any pre-trial hearing, trial, or sentencing hearing, between a Minority Language Speaker (MLS) defendant or witness and the legal professionals present.

² The term 'England' and its derivatives hereafter include Wales.

Study rationale

The rationale for this study is based on the researcher's experience as a court interpreter, and his first encounter of videoconference (VC) systems in a criminal court pre-trial hearing in 2009. At the time, despite being a fully-qualified court interpreter, he had not received any training on how to interpret using VC systems, and he felt that the court personnel and himself were unaware of the court protocol and etiquette to follow. For instance, he interpreted simultaneously from the witness box for the defendant in prison, and he was not aware that the defendant then heard both the interventions of the participants in court in English, and the interpreter's rendition in French. Furthermore, for the first time in his career, the interpreter had not affirmed³ or been introduced to the defendant, and he was interpreting from a location that is usually reserved for witnesses giving evidence in a courtroom. The hearing was followed by a consultation between the defendant and the defence, which took place in an adjacent room. As the room was very small, the interpreter could not sit, and the defendant could only see the interpreter's legs. Furthermore, the interpreter was told to summarise parts of the conversation that was taking place between the defendant's barrister and solicitor. This contrasted sharply with his prior experience in face-to-face court hearings. He would usually be introduced to the defendant, then be affirmed, and he would interpret next to the defendant in the dock. During a pre- or post-hearing conference, he would be able to see the defendant, and vice-versa, and he would interpret each intervention. The whole experience made the researcher feel uncomfortable, and he questioned the role that he had played as the court interpreter.

Once the assignment was completed, he was unable to locate any professional guidelines on how an assignment, be it a court hearing or any others in the PSI fields, should be conducted. Even after further research, professional codes of ethics such as the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*⁴ or, more broadly, research in Interpreting Studies made

³ An interpreter can either take an oath on a religious book or affirm if she does not wish to be sworn-in in accordance with a religion.

⁴ It is worth noting that the *Code of Professional Conduct* was updated in 2016. However, as the fieldwork was conducted between 2013 and 2015, the 2011 version of this code is used. Nonetheless, Chapter 7 will also discuss the implication of using technologies in court in light of the 2016 version.

no reference to the court interpreter's role when a hearing is conducted via VC equipment. Therefore, given his personal interest in the court interpreting field and the lack of professional guidance and academic studies in this specific research area, it was deemed that further empirical research was needed.

Research areas and themes in PSI Studies

According to Napier (2011b), the first Critical Link conference in 1995 in Canada fuelled research in PSI, and since then, many fields have emerged such as interpreting in the educational (Beukes & Pienaar, 2009; Davitti, 2013) and social service (Garcia, Aisenberg, & Harachi, 2012; Tipton, 2014) sectors, or even interpreting in war zones (Baker, 2010; Moser-Mercer & Bali, 2008) and interpreting as social activism (Baker, 2009; Lampropoulou, 2010). However, when reviewing the existing literature in PSI, healthcare interpreting and legal interpreting seem to emerge as the most frequently researched areas.

These two areas of studies are divided into various sub-fields. For instance, healthcare interpreting has examined the interpreter working in the mental health environment during counselling sessions (Bot, 2009; Wenk-Ansohn & Gurriss, 2011), or when an interpreter works during an appointment at the General Practitioner's clinic (Aktin, 2008; Fatahi, Hellström, Skott, & Mattsson, 2008), or in hospital settings (Davidson, 2001; Pöchhacker & Kadric, 1999). Similarly, legal interpreting has been divided into various areas such as asylum interpreting (Blommaert, 2001; Maryns, 2006), court interpreting (Mikkelsen, 2000; Morris, 1999), police interpreting (Gallai, 2013; Nakane, 2009), and prison interpreting (Baixauli-Olmos, 2013; Martínez-Gómez, 2014).

Amongst these sub-fields, many themes have emerged. To name but a few, researchers have examined assessment and qualification (Napier, 2004; Salaets & Balogh, 2015), emotional, psychological, and vicarious trauma (Lai, Heydon, & Mulayim, 2015; Valero Garcés, 2015), quality (Hale, Ozolins, & Stern, 2009; Morris, 1995), multilingualism and policy making in interpreting (Meyer & Apfelbaum, 2010; Wilson, Turner, & Perez, 2012), power distribution and imbalance (Cambridge, 2014; Kaufert & O'Neil, 1998), pragmatics and discourse analysis (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Wadensjö, 1998), and trust (Robb & Greenhalgh, 2006; Tipton, 2010).

Within the various research areas and themes examined in PSI, it could be posited that the public service interpreter's role has been one of the most researched paradigms to the extent that Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. xiii) described it as "that 'old-chestnut'". Although the interpreter's role, and more specifically that of the court interpreter, is analysed in more depth in Chapter 2, it is worth noting that the discussion of the interpreter's role forms part of a huge plethora of inter-related research areas and themes in PSI.

Contextualising the use of technologies in court

Technologies such as VC equipment have been used for many decades in courtrooms. The first VC-court hearing was conducted by the Cook County Circuit Court in the United States of America in 1972, and its usage has since spread across many countries and for various reasons, such as in Canada (to enable judges to serve justice in remote areas), or in Italy (where for security reasons, it has been used during the hearings of members of the mafia) (Dumoulin & Licoppe, 2010).

In the UK, VC equipment has been used in the court environment since the late 1990s (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 1999, 2000). It allows the courtroom, be it a Magistrates' Court or Crown Court, to be connected to the defendant's prison, or in the case of the witness, another location⁵. The hearings tend to be limited to pre-trial hearings and sentencing, and they usually last thirty to forty-five minutes on average when an interpreter is present (Braun, Davitti, & Dicerto, 2016b). To date, over 90% of courts have been fitted with VC equipment (Braun *et al.*, 2016b), and the number of court hearings conducted through VC equipment is constantly increasing. In its 2015-2016 annual report, HM Courts & Tribunals Service (2016, p. 14) states that VC systems "enabled around 80,000 individuals to participate in court proceedings", which is a rather significant number of cases

⁵ It is worth noting that the use of VC equipment in court settings is also used to link police stations and criminal courts so that the defendant, once charged, can appear virtually to the court in a matter of hours through the Virtual Court project initiative launched in 2010 (Terry, Johnson, & Thompson, 2010). However, this set-up does not come within the scope of this study.

when compared to the 258 000 defendants who appeared physically in court.⁶ The report further asserts that every region in the UK has at least one site away from courts which is equipped for witnesses to give evidence via VC equipment as the report anticipates that, in the fairly near future, “most evidence will be delivered by video” (HM Courts & Tribunals Service, 2016, p. 20). Finally, the equipment in 130 Crown, Magistrates’ and Civil courts was updated in 2016, with another 100 courts and 17 tribunals to follow. Therefore, VC equipment is playing a more and more prominent role in English courtrooms.

Defining the research aims and objectives

Within this context, this piece of research aims to investigate how the court interpreter perceives her role when VC systems are used during criminal court proceedings in England, and whether or not the use of VC systems affects her role perception. Furthermore, it aims to examine how the interpreter negotiates her role perception with the other participants taking part in the VC-conducted court hearing, and what strategies she deploys, if any, to convince the other participants to support her own role perception.

In order to achieve these aims, the research objectives are the following: (1) to critically review the existing body of literature on the use of VC equipment and on the interpreter’s role and the perception of her role, with a particular emphasis put on court settings; (2) to interview practising court interpreters on the perception of their role in VC hearings; (3) based on the findings from the literature review and the interviews, to assess whether or not role negotiations take place in VC-conducted court hearings, and the part played by the court interpreter in such negotiations; (4) to establish a list of strategies used (if any) by the interpreters to convince the other actors to rally behind the interpreter’s own role definition, and whether or not she uses more strategies than those identified in the body of literature; and (5) to assess if there is any correlation between the interpreter’s role perception and the strategies that she deploys.

⁶ As more and more courts currently use VC equipment, it is not surprising to note that its use is also reported in the media, especially when it is used in notorious cases. For instance, ex-marine Alexander Blackman has recently appeared from prison during his bail application, and Rolf Harris will attend virtually his trial, whilst remaining in prison. These cases have been widely reported in the media, and more information on each case can, respectively, be found here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38397205> and here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38329541>

Defining the scope of this study

This study's scope is limited to spoken language interpreters, and it does not include the sign language interpreter's perception of her role. Indeed, the necessity for the sign language interpreter to be able to see court participants on the screen may disproportionately affect her role perception, compared to spoken language interpreters. Furthermore, the interpreting working environment is limited to criminal courts in England. In other words, this study's focus is put on Magistrates' Courts and Crown Courts, and not on Immigration and Asylum Hearings or any civil hearings. Moreover, due to the word restriction, only interpreting through videoconference systems is taken into account. Finally, this study focuses purely on the interpreter's perception of her role, and it does not assess how she actually performs in court.

Structure of the thesis

In order to achieve this study's aims, and in line with its objectives and its research scope, this thesis has been divided into the following seven chapters.

The first chapter sets the scene for this thesis by defining the various types of technologies used in the legal sphere, and it reviews academic research on the use of technologies in mono- and multi-lingual court proceedings, with a specific emphasis put on VC equipment used during VC court hearings.

Chapter 2 first reviews the role of the public service interpreter, and then focuses more specifically on that of the court interpreter. Section 2 highlights various sociological approaches used to analyse the interpreter's role, and it lays particular emphasis on role-space as a fit-for-purpose theoretical framework for this study. The last section of this chapter analyses how court interpreters perceive their role and the extent to which their role perceptions contrast with the roles described in Sections 1 and 2 of this chapter.

Given that technologies play a central role in this research, Chapter 3 critically analyses Actor-Network Theory and more specifically *Translation*⁷ as suitable

⁷ In this thesis translation will refer to the act of translating from one language into another, whereas *Translation* will be understood as the sociological paradigm that is anchored in ANT and defined in more depth in Chapter 3.

sociological frameworks with which to examine the interpreter's negotiation process with regard to her role.

Chapter 4 presents the methodological approach adopted in this thesis by assessing Actor-Network Theory as a methodology, and reviewing its ontological and epistemological stances. It goes on to discuss the use of semi-structured interviews, and it finally explains step-by-step the research design adopted to recruit and interview eighteen participants. It is worth noting that as participants were guaranteed anonymity and that the data would be destroyed upon completion of this thesis, the interview transcripts are not provided in the Appendix.

Chapters 5 and 6 are dedicated to the data analysis. Chapter 5 provides an analysis through the lens of role-space. The approach taken is thematic, but individual role-space models are provided in Appendix A. Chapter 6 examines the data through Actor-Network Theory, and more specifically *Translation*, by establishing the networks created by the participants, and then applying the four phases of *Translation*, namely Problematization, Interessement, Enrolment, and Mobilisation.

Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the results of the analysis in light of the literature review findings. It reveals the factors that shape the court interpreter's perception of her role when she works via VC equipment, and the strategies that she deploys to convince the other court participants to rally behind her role definition. It concludes by providing both theoretical recommendations on the use of role-space and ANT/*Translation* for future research conducted in Interpreting Studies, and also practical recommendations for court interpreters and the other court participants.

Chapter 1: Technological innovations in interpreting - overview, application, and research findings

Various types of technologies have been used for the past four decades to facilitate access to interpreting services. According to Kelly (2008, p. 5), Telephone Interpreting (TI) was first introduced in 1973 in Australia, and at the time, it was used mainly in emergency cases. In 1981, TI was used in police stations in the United States, and it then spread to other fields such as medical interpreting. However, due to technological constraints (namely the absence of video feed), TI was first limited to short Interpreter Mediated Events (IMEs), such as processing a suspected offender upon arrest. With the advent of technologies, VC systems have succeeded in filling this shortcoming by providing a real-time video and audio feed of/to all the participants in an IME. Since then, the working environment of the interpreter has changed radically. Service providers, service users, and interpreters can now conduct meetings without requiring the co-presence of all the parties. Although this development is perceived as a means to save time, reduce costs, and improve safety, drawbacks regarding the use of VC equipment and its impact on an IME have been raised (e.g.: Braun & Taylor, 2011a, 2011b).

This chapter reviews the current literature on the use of technologies in an IME, with a particular emphasis put on its use in criminal court settings. It will first define the various types of technologies that are used, along with their technical requirements. The second section will examine the overarching European legislative framework which governs their use. As this thesis focuses on courts in England, national legislations will be then discussed in more depth. The third section will review research that has been carried out on the use of technologies in the legal sphere by first examining studies carried out in a monolingual setting, and then by reviewing research in this area in Interpreting Studies (IS).

1. Defining technologies used in court settings

Various interpreting situations can require the use of technologies, whether interpreters work in a booth during a conference, with a tour-guide system whilst interpreting during a factory tour, or even from home via the telephone or Skype. This section will first define the various types of technologies that can be used in a

criminal court when one or more participants are remote. As this doctoral study focuses on the use of VC systems, the second part of this section will examine more specifically the technical requirements when a hearing is conducted via VC equipment.

1.1. Definitions

In an IME, technologies enable one or more participants to take part in court proceedings remotely through the use of TI, Videoconference Interpreting (VCI), or Remote Interpreting (RI).

First, the interpreter can interpret court proceedings remotely through a telephone set. As stated above, the use of TI has been used in legal proceedings since the 1980s at police stations in the USA. In the 1990s TI was introduced in American courts through the Telephone Interpreting Programme. According to the United States Courts (2014), the interpreter works remotely, and thanks to a two-way telephone system, she can interpret the proceedings to the MLS present in court, for instance. In the United Kingdom the use of TI in court settings is unclear. Some translation and interpreting companies⁸ based in the UK advertise on their websites that they provide interpreters for TI in courts. However, no evidence regarding its use could be found, which suggests that if TI were available in English courts, its use would be rather confined.

Furthermore, according to Braun and Taylor (2011b, pp. 32-34), VCI refers to the setting where the court is in attendance, and the defendant or the witness is at another location. Braun and Taylor (2011b) distinguish between VCI A, when the interpreter is co-present with the participants in court, but the defendant/witness is in another location, and VCI B, when the interpreter is co-located with the defendant/witness, and the court is in attendance with all the other court actors. The courtroom and the other location are connected through a VC system, which includes screens, cameras, and microphones in both locations so that participants can see and hear each other.

⁸ For instance, Absolute Interpreting and Translation Ltd and Pearl Linguistics advertise this service at http://www.absolute-interpreting.co.uk/telephone_interpreting.php and <http://www.pearllinguistics.com/interpreting-services/instant-telephone-interpreting>, respectively.

Finally, RI enables the interpreter to be in a different location from all the other actors present in court. The interpreter's location and the courtroom are equipped with microphones, speakers, and screens so that both locations are connected virtually. In England, the use of this setting is geographically restricted. To my knowledge, only the Metropolitan Police Service in the Greater London area has been using RI with the creation of interpreting hubs in 2008, and this system has not been rolled out to other parts of England yet.

Interestingly, VCI and RI can be combined⁹, as Braun and Taylor (2011b) argue. In this case scenario, the court is in attendance, the defendant, for instance, is in prison, and instead of being co-present with either party, the interpreter is in a third location¹⁰.

As the use of RI and TI is limited in courts in England, this doctoral thesis focuses only on VCI A and VCI B settings, and the following sub-sections analyse the technical requirements needed in such a setting.

1.2. Technical requirements in a European context

The General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2013) published the *Guide on videoconferencing in cross-border proceedings* in order to improve the use of VC systems in courts across European Member States. Although its primary focus is on cross-border collaboration¹¹, the scope of VC application is wider, and it can be used in other settings, including within national legal systems. This guide (General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, 2013, p. 8) states that “the objective is to make the videoconferencing session as close as possible to the usual practice in any court where evidence is taken in open court”. This is what is referred to as the “true-to-life principle” (General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union, 2013, p. 17).

In order to achieve such an objective, the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2013)'s guide puts forward some technical considerations to be taken into account prior to conducting a VC hearing. For instance, its preamble

⁹ This combination was first tested by Braun (2007) in a business setting.

¹⁰ Diagrams representing these permutations are enclosed in Appendix E.

¹¹ For instance, when a witness is giving evidence from another courtroom in another Member State.

warns that, regardless of the state-of-the-art equipment used, there will always be a slight delay between the image and the accompanying sound. Therefore, one may expect to hear a person speak, even though the person displayed on the screen appears silent. As a consequence, this could lead to overlapping speeches. In terms of picture quality, this guide also reminds participants that they should refrain from moving too much, as their movements will be enhanced, which could then affect the quality of the image displayed on screen. Therefore, the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2013, pp. 18-19) makes technical recommendations concerning the image (it should include a focus-view, an overview-view, and an information view to exchange and see documents), the screen (for instance, it should be wide-enough for all participants to see, and facial traits should be discernible), the cameras (such as fixed cameras with pre-set positions, having two cameras: one to give an overview of the room, whilst the other will track the person speaking), and the microphones (for instance, they should be equipped with mute functions, be direction-sensitive, and sound quality should not be distorted due to background noise). It also makes recommendations on other technical aspects such as network encryption to avoid virtual intrusions, the use of portable equipment, and the positioning of all the required technical devices.

In order to ensure that the above-listed equipment is fit for purpose, the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2013)'s guide also advocates various standards. These are defined by the International Telecommunication Union (1994, 2005a, 2005b, 2014, 2016), and they cover various technical specifications, from quality of image (standards H263 and H264 regarding video coding and the number of picture frames per second, or H239 that deals with multi-media channels and the necessary codec to have a picture-in-picture on screen) to cameras (standards H 224 and H281 cover real-time control protocols so that cameras can zoom in and out, or tilt). However, these are only recommendations, and Member States are not under any obligation to enforce them in cross-border cooperation or between institutions at national level. As a result, it could be hypothesised that as standards between two locations may differ or equipment made by different manufacturers could be used, the lack of

enforceability of these standards could potentially lead to poorer audio/video quality or even system incompatibility.

When examining the equipment used in the English legal system, Braun *et al.* (2016b)'s report reveals that the procurement of VC equipment in court and prison settings is carried out by different suppliers. They also indicate that Integrated Services Digital Network (ISDN) and Internet Protocol (IP) connections are both used, which, given the poor performance of some ISDN lines, could be another potential explanation for the sound transmission delay, for instance. However, although the systems used may differ, these scholars add that the types of equipment used generally share similar features such as "picture-in-picture functionality, and near-and far-end camera control" (Braun *et al.*, 2016b, p. 24). Nonetheless, the extent to which the standards defined by the International Telecommunications Union above are actually implemented in England, and whether or not such implementation would iron out technical difficulties (such as overlapping speeches and time delay) remains unclear.

This section has defined the various types of technologies used in legal proceedings, limiting the scope of this thesis to the use of VCI A and VCI B. It has also analysed the equipment required and the specifications set in international standards, and has briefly reviewed the VC equipment used in England. Although there is no obligation from Member States to incorporate equipment meeting the technical specifications described above in courtrooms, there are various pieces of EU legislation, transposed at national level, which enforce the use of technologies in court settings, and by which Member States must abide. These are discussed in the next section.

2. Legal provisions

Since the ratification of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 that laid the foundations of the European Union, various pieces of legislation and directives have been adopted at the European level in order to regulate access to PSI. This section will review key pieces of EU legislation, from ensuring that MLS have access to interpreters, to promoting the use of technologies. As this study focuses on England, legislation in this country will then be discussed in order to examine how this Member State has transposed and applied the relevant EU legislation.

2.1. Fundamental EU legislation

Various directives have been adopted by the European Union in order to strengthen civil and criminal proceedings across Member States. One of their aims is to lay down the fundamental rights of any person, including MLS, going through the judicial system whether as a witness, suspect, accused, defendant, or detainee. As such, the basic rights to interpretation are stated in the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, also known as the *European Convention on Human Rights* (ECHR). According to Article 6 § 3 (a) and (e):

Everyone charged with a criminal offence has the following minimum rights:

- (a) to be informed promptly, in a language which he understands and in detail, of the nature and cause of the accusation against him.

(...)

- (e) to have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court.

This Convention was signed by the Council of Europe, and was then ratified by the Member States. Since then, any applicant country adheres to these rights to become a European Member State. However, Morgan (2011, p. 5) argues that although Member States adhered to the Convention, “there was a problem with the varying standards of legal interpreting and translation available in the criminal proceedings throughout the EU.” She exemplifies her argument by stating that access to an interpreter, free of charge, was not satisfactorily granted in all Member States, for instance. Therefore, in order to harmonise the European legal landscape, other pieces of legislation have been implemented since the adoption of the ECHR in 1950.

In order to facilitate access to interpreters, Article 10 of The *Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters between the Member States of the European Union 2000*, passed by the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union, encourages Member States’ criminal justice systems to use videoconferencing. This tool also speeds up criminal proceedings, reduces legal costs, and enhances

security systems, and its aim is to facilitate the legal proceedings when a witness or a defendant is not physically attending a court hearing. Not only does this piece of legislation promote the use of VC in cross-European criminal cases, but its usage is also encouraged at national level as a communication channel between courts, police stations, and prisons. However, the practicalities of its implementation have met some hurdles, one being VCI training. According to Morgan (2011, p. 6), a “vision” with regard to legal interpreting was set out during an experts’ meeting in 2002, and the experts¹² stated that there must be training offered to prospective court interpreters. This training should cover various aspects of the profession such as linguistic and interpreting/cultural skills, knowledge of the field, and an accreditation process. However, their vision was not binding, and it is unclear whether training in VCI was promoted at the time of the meeting.

Another cornerstone regarding language provision in criminal settings was the adoption of Directive 2010/64/EU on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings in Europe by the European Parliament and the Council on 20 October 2010. Article 2(6) specifically states that technologies (to be understood as interpreting via a telephone, a videoconference system, or the internet) can be used “unless the physical presence of the interpreter is required in order to safeguard the fairness of the proceedings.” Interestingly, the Directive provides caveats on the use of technologies in criminal proceedings, but it fails to define what is meant by “to safeguard the fairness of the proceedings”, which potentially leaves the individual Member State to interpret and implement its use in its own legal system somewhat loosely.

Overall, the European Union has established legal frameworks that grant fundamental rights to court actors when they do not understand the language in which the proceedings take place. The European Union has also laid down foundations for using technologies in the legal sphere, including VC systems. However, safeguards stating when they should not be used in legal proceedings

¹² The experts were from the Chartered Institute of Linguists, the Committee for Legal Translators and Court Interpreters of the International Federation of Translators (FIT), and Lessius Hogeschool University.

remain unclear, which could lead to a disharmonised use of VCI. The next subsection examines in more depth the legislation regulating the use of technologies in criminal proceedings taking place in England.

2.2. Legislating for the use of VC equipment in English criminal proceedings

In England, Section 57 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 provides a framework to use videoconference systems in criminal courts. This Act was adopted as early as 1998, prior to the Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters between European Countries. However, the Convention and the Act's objectives are similar in the sense that VC equipment is meant to reduce costs, save time, and improve safety. Furthermore, this Act limits the use of VC equipment to pre-trial hearings, and it gives court actors the possibility to decline the use of VC equipment, if the reason put forward is deemed acceptable. Section 45 of the Police and Criminal Justice Act 2006 extends the use of VC hearings to sentencing, if the defendant consents. With regard to witnesses, the Criminal Justice Act 1988 gives the opportunity to hear witnesses (located abroad for indictable-only offences) and for young witnesses to give evidence via VC systems. A second law, the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999, widens the framework within which the use of VC systems is deemed appropriate in the sense that vulnerable witnesses can give evidence via a 'live link'¹³. Finally, Section 51 of the Criminal Justice Act 2003 enables any witness to give evidence via VC equipment, including expert witnesses. It is interesting to note that England was a precursor in providing VC-conducted court hearings, and it had implemented a legislative framework before the EU legislated on its use.

Despite its being at the forefront of using technologies in criminal proceedings, research on the extent to which VC equipment may impact hearings in English courts, especially in the presence of an interpreter, was very limited at the time of implementation. For instance, Plotnikoff and Woolfson (1999), two consultants in Management, IT and the Law, examine the use of VC systems on English courts. They acknowledge that court interpreters can be actors in criminal proceedings. Although two interpreters were expected to take part in their initial study, their fieldwork did not include the interpreters' point of view as either the interpreter had

¹³ In this thesis, VC equipment, live link, and video link are used as synonyms.

not been needed during the hearing, or the judge had required the MLS defendant to be physically present. As the results were inconclusive, Plotnikoff and Woolfson (1999, p. 39) recommend that further studies are carried out to examine the suitability of VC equipment when interpreters are needed. Despite such recommendations, Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2000) conducted another study in Manchester Crown Court, in which no court interpreters took part. They were commissioned by the Prison Service to carry out a pilot study to assess the feasibility of VC systems between Manchester Crown Court and Her Majesty's Prison Manchester. Their report is based on court observations, questionnaires, and interviews during which the opinions of the main participants (judges, lawyers, defendants, prison officers, and court clerks) were sought. In their recommendations, Plotnikoff and Woolfson state that:

Following the Comprehensive Spending Review, the government set up new structures for joint strategic planning across the criminal justice system. Video links are an ideal candidate for the strategic approach which these structures are intended to implement. (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2000, p. 7)

Although they argue in favour of rolling out VC systems to courts in other parts of England, they also highlight that this must be done within certain safeguards. They particularly raise concerns with regard to technical and logistic issues such as system compatibilities between courts and prisons, and inappropriate court layout (for instance, some courtrooms lacked physical space to provide telephone booths if the defence wanted to take instructions from the defendant in private). They also emphasize the need to train all the participants before a hearing is conducted via a VC system. However, despite these two studies, it could be questioned whether the decision to roll out VC systems in England at the time, without further assessing their suitability during an IME, was judicious.

To conclude, the use of VC equipment is inscribed within various pieces of EU legislation. Interestingly, England was one of the first Member States to legislate on its use during criminal proceedings. Although videoconferencing was rolled out in the English judicial system in the 1990s (Braun et al., 2016b), it can be argued that studies at the time focused mainly on the use of VC equipment in a mono-lingual setting, and research on the impact of VC equipment on an IME was very scarce.

3. Research on technologies in criminal court settings

The fact that research on VC equipment within a legal IME was rather scarce at the beginning of the 21st century is in fact rather unsurprising as according to Licoppe, Verdier, and Dumoulin (2013), most research in this area started to be carried out in the 1990s, and it appears that at the time, studies focused mainly on monolingual court hearings. Therefore, the aim of this section is to first review research carried out on the use of technologies in monolingual legal settings, and then to examine the literature on the use of such technologies when an interpreter is present.

3.1. Research on technologies in a monolingual legal context

In the 1980s, some American studies (such as Chapper, 1983; Chapper & Hanson, 1983; De Foor & Sechen, 1984) focused on the use of telephone conferencing as a new technological means to already save time, reduce legal costs, and improve safety. Despite highlighting these potential benefits in a monolingual court setting, studies on the use of telephone conferencing in criminal settings are in fact scarce, and they tend to be geographically restricted to the United States. Whilst encouraging further research in this area, Hanson, Olson, Shuart, and Thornton (1984) note that three difficulties are to be overcome when conducting a hearing via a telephone set. First, telephone conferencing often precludes the defendant from attending the hearing as only the defence, the prosecution, and the judge are connected from their office/chamber. Furthermore, most lawyers already attend the same courtroom for other hearings on the day, which is often used as a counter-argument to time saving. Finally, judges raise concerns regarding court participants' perceptions of the hearing, and they question whether the court's *gravitas* in criminal offences would be preserved in the absence of the defendant. These arguments may explain the reason why the use of telephone conferencing may be quite restricted, hence limiting its scope as a research area. Another explanation may reside in the fact that VC equipment started to be used in the 1990s, as discussed above, which led various American scholars to examine its impact in a court of law (e.g.: Johnson & Wiggins, 2006; Radburn-Remfry, 1994; Thaxton, 1993). Interestingly, and similarly to Plotnikoff and Woolfson (1999, 2000)'s studies, research was mainly conducted in monolingual settings, and it evolved around three intrinsically linked areas: the

legality of conducting VC court hearing, the impact that it has on participants' perceptions, and technical difficulties.

Firstly, in their study, Johnson and Wiggins (2006) claim that the use of VC equipment in American criminal courts could violate some of the defendant's constitutional rights. Their study argues that VC equipment may lead to negatively affecting the defendant's right to due process, his right of effective assistance from counsel, and his right to confront witnesses. To support their claim, they provide several arguments highlighting that it is more difficult for the defendant and his lawyer to communicate, for the judge to assess emotions, and for the defendant to face his accuser, for instance. Questions as to the fairness of a VC hearing have also been raised and discussed by other scholars (such as Radburn-Remfry, 1994; Thaxton, 1993), and they concur that VC systems could infringe defendants' rights. However, no study clearly provides conclusive results, and they call for further research to be carried out.

Secondly, other studies focus on the impact that VC equipment has on participants' perceptions of other court actors such as the difficulty to preserve or assess emotions. Radburn-Remfry claims that:

While the use of video technology does expedite production, the absence of the defendant's physical presence may result in an emotional detachment by those sworn to uphold the rights of the accused. (Radburn-Remfry, 1994, p. 32)

The question as to whether defence lawyers may feel detached from the defendant in a VC court hearing is concerning, as this could reduce "the solemnity of the judicial proceedings and the reverence with which society looks upon the law" (Radburn-Remfry, 1994, p. 32). However, this feeling of detachment is not exclusive to the defendant and his legal representation, but the use of VC equipment "provides (...) a greater disconnection from humanity" in general (McKay, 2016, p. 33). Trying to explain this disconnection, McKay (2015) argues that the feeling of detachment arises from sensorial restrictions that are inherent with the use of VC systems. As a result, the working relationship between the lawyer and the defendant (Hodges, 2008), or, to a greater extent, the working relationship between the defendant and the participants in court can be affected,

which gives more weight to questioning whether the defendant's rights to due process and effective counsel are preserved.

Assessing a witness's credibility when giving evidence also seems to be challenged by the use of VC equipment. For instance, in his study, Roth (2000) reports on judges and lawyers' perception of witnesses' demeanour, and he argues that "some attorneys and judges say it is more difficult to determine the credibility of a remote witness than the credibility of a witness appearing in a courtroom" (Roth, 2000, p. 201). Similarly, the witness's perception of the other court actors whilst he is giving evidence via VC systems is questionable. Hodges (2008, para. 15) argues that "there are questions about whether witnesses who provide evidence via video link treat the court process with the same gravitas as if they were in attendance". These studies suggest that VC systems could impact on the perception that a judge may have of a witness, but also the witness's own perception of the court.

Further to questioning the court participants' perceptions of and relationships with the other court actors, studies also reveal that participants' perceptions of the remote party's physical cues may be skewed. Fullwood, Judd, and Finn (2008) state that VC systems render it more difficult for parties involved to visualise non-verbal signals and body language, and that "[its use] would render the expression of many intimacy cues impossible" (Fullwood *et al.*, 2008, p. 7). Although they seem to suggest that intimacy cues (i.e. body language, proximity, or eye-contact) are only minor components in a case, and they do not affect the outcomes, the lack of visual cues in a multilingual hearing could be more damaging. Indeed, it is argued by many interpreting scholars (such as Hale, 2004; Wadensjö, 1998) that these are essential to interpreters, and that their absence could impact on the interpreter's capacity to perform to the best of her abilities.

Finally, concerns have been raised regarding the equipment itself, and some studies (such as Haas, 2006; Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2000) report on the impact that poor audio and video feeds have on the court participants. Against this backdrop, and as discussed in the first section of this chapter, the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2013)'s *Guide on videoconferencing in cross-border proceedings* encourages the use of a VC

system to be a 'true-to-life' experience. Given technical difficulties encountered in terms of poor audio/video feed, the capacity to deliver a true-to-life experience could be questioned. Indeed, van Rotterdam and van den Hoogen (2011, p. 189), from the Dutch Ministry of Security and Justice, argue that VC equipment limits any true-to-life experience, as it is difficult to:

- interact with one or more persons in one or other of the rooms,
- make eye contact with one or more persons,
- notice that one is being spoken to, looked at, pointed at or addressed,
- determine the provenance of a sound,
- see how each person comports him/herself,
- see how persons react to one another,
- see what is on each person's desk and what they do with their hands,
- see each person's external appearance, facial expressions, gestures, posture, lip movements and direction of gaze (van Rotterdam & van den Hoogen, 2011, p. 189).

Illustrating one underlying reason for the above issues, van Rotterdam and van den Hoogen (2011, pp. 189-190) claim that they can be due to poor quality of picture and sound. During a VC hearing, the image can be unclear, or distorted, and offers only a partial view. Also, the sound and the image can be delayed. It is interesting to note that eleven years prior to van Rotterdam and van den Hoogen (2011)'s article, Plotnikoff and Woolfson (2000) already raised concerns on equipment performance and suitability. Although the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union (2013)'s *Guide on videoconferencing in cross-border proceedings* makes recommendations as to the various technical standards to observe, it appears that technical issues continue to persist, and they do bear consequences on a VC hearing. As a result, its aim to provide a true-to-life experience currently seems unachievable.

However, Lederer (2009) believes that VC technology constantly improves, to the extent that "modern quality commercial videoconferencing presents a high-quality image, fully synchronized with the audio" (Lederer, 2009, p. 20). Moving away from describing the impact of inadequate equipment, research has therefore branched out into examining the staging and the production of VC court hearings. In their study, Licoppe *et al.* (2013) indicate that adjusting the camera during a hearing, and ensuring that the current speaker is shown on screen to the defendant, is a task that is incumbent upon the usher, and in some cases, the

presiding judge. Thus, the use of VC equipment adds new responsibilities to existing roles in the judicial system, for which actors may not have a full understanding of the impact that camera angles may have, for instance. Indeed, Roth (2000) argues that a vertical or horizontal angle could change the perception that the court has of a witness, and framed within Media Theory, he states that a person's face shot appearing on screen is deemed to have less expertise than if the person's profile shot is shown. This raises concerns as to how the court personnel or the judge portrays a witness or a defendant through the use of different shots. He therefore recommends that the viewing angle be the same as when a witness appears in person, and that the background behind the witness is in neutral colours (Roth, 2000, pp. 204-205). Furthermore, the use of VC equipment can lead to interaction management issues. In their study, Verdier and Licoppe (2011) argue that the judge's interventions are more fragmented, and they include "pauses, breaks, hesitations and repetitions" (Verdier & Licoppe, 2011, p. 28) as a result of misoperating the camera. The judge also describes what the camera does not show on screen, so that he compensates verbally for contextual elements visually missing on the defendant's screen. The use of VC equipment can also lead to other interactional difficulties such as overlapping speeches. For instance, changing the camera orientation can be interpreted by different actors in court as meaning that they have the floor (Licoppe, 2015). An untimely connection between the courtroom and the prison can also create confusion between the court actors, in which case the judge manages overlapping speeches verbally or through body language (Veyrier & Licoppe, 2014). Finally, it can also create a participative dilemma where the defendant in prison is hesitant to intervene during case file summaries to confirm facts mentioned in the courtroom (Licoppe, 2014). Overall, the staging and production of a VC hearing requires specific skills. If these skills are not mastered, technology can lead to distorting participants' perceptions of the remote party and creating interaction management difficulties.

To conclude, although the above studies suggest that the use of VC systems could be flawed in terms of their legalities, participants' perceptions, and technological issues, Fullwood *et al.* (2008) argue that their study findings are in line with other research such as Taylor and Joudo (2005)'s report on the impact of

VC equipment on the jury's verdict. They argue that their study corroborates the fact that:

[the] mode of testimony (live link, pre-recorded image [or] live face-to-face) had little effect on the jury's perceptions of whether the accused was guilty and the credibility of the complainant. (Fullwood *et al.*, 2008, p. 7)

It could therefore be hypothesised that, at the macro-level, there is no difference whether the court hearing is conducted in the co-presence or not of a witness/defendant. However, the studies discussed above also indicate that the use of VC systems impacts on court proceedings at the micro-level (such as perceptions, intimacy cues, technical shortcomings and interaction management). Most studies carried out agree in saying that more research is needed to build a fuller picture of the impact that VC systems have in court settings (such as Federman, 2006; Haas, 2006; Kowalski, 2009; Poulin, 2004). Furthermore, these studies are typical in the sense that the great majority of research projects assessing the use of VC are conducted in monolingual settings. However, they identify potential issues, such as participants' perceptions and interaction management, which are relevant during an IME.

3.2. Research in IME and technologies

The body of research carried out on the use of technologies in IMEs covers a range of interpreting fields and technologies. This section will first review the use of Telephone Interpreting, and it will then examine Remote Interpreting, to finally focus on Videoconference Interpreting in the legal field.

3.2.1. Telephone Interpreting

According to Kelly (2008), TI is the oldest example of the technologies used in the PSI field, with governmental agencies or private companies advertising such a service in the 1970s and 1980s in the USA, Australia, and in Europe. Similarly to monolingual legal settings, J. Lee (2007) argues that the use of telephone conferencing is a means to reduce cost, and it facilitates access to interpreters. Indeed, TI enables a particular type of IME to take place, whereby the interpreter is interpreting over a telephone line either in the presence of one of the

participants or on her own (in such a situation, the other participants can either be co-present or in different locations).

Describing studies carried out in this field, Ozolins (2011) argues that:

The scattered research effort so far has given us a patchy picture of TI, with inconsistent or uncertain findings on basic questions such as how interpreters and other participants coordinate discourse via telephone, or the use of first or third person, as well as more technical issues of the extent of use of mobile vs. fixed-line phones, or which set-ups of TI are most effective. (Ozolins, 2011, p. 33)

Although the research is scarce, some key studies covering various TI paradigms must be acknowledged. Further to her research on coordination of talk in a face-to-face IME, Wadensjö (1999) compares on-site interpreting and telephone interpreting in a police station. Her seminal study shows that the exchange of turns and the coordination of talk were smoother in the face-to-face situation than in TI. However, her results must be interpreted with caution because of the small sample of data analysed (only two observations were carried out).

Building on Wadensjö's work, Rosenberg (2007) analyses a much larger corpus consisting of 1876 interpreter-mediated telephone calls that he interpreted over a two-year period. Two thirds of the calls took place in medical settings, and the others were business-related. He claims that TI makes it more difficult to understand local dialects or regional accents, whereas it would be less problematic in a face-to-face setting. Also, instead of using 'I', all the parties tend to use the third pronoun, and they refer to each other as 'he/she said'. This partially explains the reason why Rosenberg also argues that in TI settings, the role of the interpreter differs:

These results show that interpreter-mediated telephone conversations do not follow the idealized, conduit model of interpreting, but rather the interpreter is an active participant in the conversation as is the case in many community settings. (Rosenberg, 2007, p. 66)

In such a situation the interpreter manages the flow of the interaction, and she becomes an active participant in the IME. To some extent, J. Lee (2007, p. 233)'s study corroborates this as she argues that the TI interpreter acts as an "independent agent" that manages turn-taking.

Finally, Rosenberg' study also criticises the various technological settings that he encountered, and he argues that telephone passing (when participants share the telephone set) is much more disruptive than face-to-face encounters (whereby participants are in the same room, and they use a speaker-phone to communicate with the interpreter), or when all the participants have their own telephone sets (which, according to Rosenberg (2007), is the situation most akin to a face-to-face setting). Ozolins (2011) also raises technological concerns with regard to the quality of voice, and also regarding the use of mobile phones in TI. He claims that it is difficult to preserve confidentiality as interpreters could be interpreting whilst being in a public space, for instance.

Overall, the use of telephone conferencing is more widely researched in a multi-lingual setting than in a monolingual encounter. Although the above studies cater for the use of TI in different settings, including police proceedings, it is interesting to note that none refers to court hearings, which reinforce the rarity of TI or telephone conferencing in a courtroom. Furthermore, three main paradigms tend to emerge: technological issues, the role of the interpreter, and the impact of technologies on quality. Finally, based on the studies discussed above, there is a consensus that TI is an under-researched field, and more qualitative and quantitative pieces of research need to be undertaken in this area.

3.2.2. Remote Interpreting

As discussed by Braun (2015), the use of RI has been of particular interest to large international institutions whose interpreting needs must be filled on a daily basis. Projects to assess the use of RI in international institutions have taken place for decades. Moser-Mercer (2005, p. 74) states that "the first major remote interpreting experiments were carried out in the 1970s". She lists various projects led by some institutions such as UNESCO (Paris-Nairobi experiment in 1976), the United-Nations (New York – Buenos Aires in 1978), or, later, the European Commission (Studio Beaulieu in 1995), whose aims were to assess the viability of RI, as these institutions wanted to reduce their running interpreting costs and

maximise their building space¹⁴. Moser-Mercer (2005, p. 75) argues that these studies were mainly examining RI from technical perspectives and standards. However, questions regarding the potential impact of RI on interpreting performance and quality were left mainly unexplored.

Other research fields have also been explored. Indeed, moving away from the technical standards required, other studies have focused on the impact of RI on the interpreter's well-being and working environment. For instance, Moser-Mercer (2003, 2005)'s studies show that interpreters perceive RI as more stressful and tiring, and its use impacts negatively on the interpreters' short-term memory. Her studies also argue that interpreters do not feel in control of the situation when they interpret from another location. Concurring partially with these findings, Mouzourakis (1996) argues that RI is always more tiring and stressful than interpreting from a booth in a conference room. Furthermore, Mouzourakis (2003) argues that RI leads to a feeling of discomfort, and although technologies are improving, this feeling will never be totally alleviated.

With regard to interpreting quality, Roziner and Shlesinger (2010) argue that interpreters perceive that they are not performing as well. However, this perception could be due to the fact that conference interpreters are highly trained, and they always aspire to achieve the best of their abilities (Roziner & Shlesinger, 2010, p. 238). However, in her concluding remarks, Moser-Mercer (2003, Section 8) adds that it should be "assume[d] that remote interpreting (...) prevents interpreters from building up the requisite situation models in working memory that normally allow them to perform at a high level of quality throughout a regular 30-minute turn". She bases her conclusion on the effect that RI has on interpreters' short-term and long-term working memory. Although the impact of RI on quality in conference settings is rather unclear, in the legal PSI field scholars (Braun, 2013c; Braun & Taylor, 2011a) provide more conclusive results. For instance, Braun (2013c) argues that RI impacts more on the quality of the interpreter's performance than in face-to-face, and additions and expansions were even more

¹⁴ A talking example is the EU project led in 2004. Roziner and Shlesinger (2010, pp. 214-215) state that in December 2004, the most extensive study was carried out by the EU in order to assess feasibility of RI in EU institutions as, in line with the accession of new Member States, their need for alternative space for interpreting booths was increasing. Unfortunately, this report was not published.

frequent “after a phase of familiarisation and training for the participating interpreters” (Braun, 2016c, p. 1). Further to linguistic issues, Braun and Taylor (2011a) simulated police interviews, and interpreters were asked to work in both face-to-face and RI contexts. They argue that:

The number of serious interpreting problems (e.g. omissions, additions, distortions, lexical/terminological problems, paralinguistic problems, turn-taking problems) was higher in remote interpreting compared to face-to-face interpreting. Furthermore, a range of additional problems for the interpreter were observed including, for example, problems with gaze and eye contact, sound and listening comprehension, communication management and the co-ordination of the talk, and rapport with the remote interlocutor. (Braun & Taylor, 2011a, p. 98)

It is interesting to note that RI does not only affect the legal interpreter’s performance in terms of linguistic quality, but it also hinders paralinguistic factors and turn-taking, among others. These issues are more difficult to identify in studies carried out in conference settings, and the underlying reasons justifying this research gap between the different settings are not clear. It could be hypothesised that the high level of training of conference interpreters in international institutions, and their daily exposure to IME, may play a role in limiting more the effect of RI on interpreting quality and paralinguistic factors.

3.2.3. Videoconference Interpreting

Research concerning the use of VC systems in legal proceedings has been mainly carried out in immigration tribunals and criminal courts. In his report commissioned by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Ellis (2004) assesses the viability of VC equipment during refugee hearings. His mandate was to examine the impact on technologies on the fairness of VC hearings through interviews with legal counsel and on-line surveys with a range of participants. It is interesting to note that although this study’s focus was not primarily on IMEs, it differs from those mentioned in a monolingual setting¹⁵ as fifty-one interpreters, working in VCI A, were still invited to take part in the on-line survey. Out of these, sixteen interpreters responded to his on-line questionnaire. Although he calls for further empirical studies assessing the impact of VCI on immigration hearings, his study comes up with findings similar to those conducted in RI or TI. Overall, he reports

¹⁵ See section 3.1 above.

that interpreters have very mixed feelings as far as VCI is concerned. These interpreters acknowledge that VCI is a means to make better use of the Immigration and Refugee Board's limited resources. However, as other legal professionals participating in the survey mentioned, the sixteen interpreters express the following concerns: VCI is an impersonal means of communication (more time is spent on asking for repetition/ body language and emotions do not come through); it is impossible to control the speech delivery speed; interpreters encountered technical issues (mainly relating to audio/video quality or lack of trained staff/technical support); interpreters feel more fatigue, and the hearing tends to last longer. It is important to note that the interpreters do not agree in unison on all of these points. Unfortunately, Ellis (2004)'s data do not allow further analysis that would enable gaining a better understanding as to why the interpreters do not agree. Similarly, and within the same field of expertise, the British Bail for Immigration Detainees and the British Refugee Council (2008) also commissioned a report that examines VC hearings in Asylum and Immigration Tribunals. Their conclusions and recommendations align with those in Ellis (2004)'s report discussed above. It is highlighted that body language can be distorted on screen (hence a difficulty in reading intimacy cues), that bail applicants can request to have an in-person hearing (if they have grounds), and that the technology used must be efficient. The report also refers specifically to the use of interpreters in VCI. During their observations, they were concerned that "27% of applicants who used an interpreter did not have everything interpreted" (Bail for Immigration Detainees and the British Refugee Council, 2008, p. 3). It is therefore recommended that the judge must ensure that interpreters interpret everything, despite the fact that the interpreter and the bail applicant are "physically disconnected" (Bail for Immigration Detainees and British Refugee Council, 2008, p.10). Although the findings in both reports share many similarities, Canada and the UK seem to take a different stance as to where the interpreter is located. Indeed, in Canada it is recommended that the interpreter be co-present with the detainee (and therefore interpreting via VCI B), whereas in the UK, it appears that the interpreter is located in court (and therefore interpreting via VCI A), at least in immigration bail hearings.

In a criminal court context Fowler (2007, 2012, 2013) examines the use of VC systems during hearings in Magistrates' Courts. Her studies are based on various ethnographical observations and interviews with several court actors (interpreters, magistrates, prosecutors, defence advocates, and court clerks), and they cover research grounds similar to those mentioned previously (e.g.: use of equipment, working conditions, and interaction management). However, Fowler also sheds new light on research in VCI by examining the seating positions and sightlines, and tracking the speakers. Her focus is on the behaviour and the interaction that take place in face-to-face and VCI hearings. Based on her case studies, Fowler (2012, 2013) devises a continuum whereby she argues that the interpreter is the least visible in VCI A when she interprets in whispered simultaneous and consecutive modes. However, court interpreters working in full-volume consecutive mode are the most visible. Interestingly, it could be argued that these findings are similar in face-to-face hearings where an interpreter would be the least visible when whispering simultaneously from the dock, whereas she would be much more visible when interpreting consecutively for a witness giving evidence from the witness box. Furthermore, some of the data include reference to immigration hearings (that are not part of Magistrates' Courts), and she examines only VCI A types of hearings focusing solely on defendants, which reflects the situation advocated in the Bail for Immigration Detainees and the British Refugee Council (2008)'s report. However, it leaves unexplored the fact that witnesses can testify in VCI A, or that interpreters can be co-present with the defendant in prison (as will be discussed in Chapter 6).

Finally, Devaux (2017) examines the interpreter's ethical rationalisation process when VC equipment is used in interpreter-mediated criminal court hearings. He argues that court interpreters in his sample only rationalise ethics through the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*. However, the use of VC equipment creates ethical dilemmas that can be specific to VCI A or VCI B modes (such as emotional detachment or technical issues). As the *Code of Professional Conduct* does not cater for the use of such equipment, he argues that court interpreters are ill-equipped to rationalise ethical dilemmas through deontology, but court interpreters should consider other ethics paradigms, namely consequentialism, moral sentiments, and virtue ethics. His

studies signal a new avenue for research that was not considered in previous studies. However, due to the rather low number of participants (three court interpreters took part), further research which includes a larger number of court interpreters is required into the field of ethics and VCI.

Overall, the use of VCI has been explored through similar paradigms adopted in monolingual settings or in TI and RI. Indeed, research in VCI explores technical difficulties, for instance the impact of VCI on the interaction and on the interpreter's working environment. Findings bear a striking resemblance with studies carried out in a monolingual setting or in RI in the sense that equipment in VCI can be faulty, or the use of VCI can impair the working relationship between court actors. However, it is also worth noting that research areas specific to the use of VCI (for instance, ethical dilemmas or preferences on using VCI A or VCI B) have also emerged.

Notwithstanding the above studies in VCI, it is posited that most of the research in VCI in legal settings was carried out as part of the Avidicus projects that are discussed further in the next sub-section.

3.2.4. The Avidicus projects¹⁶

The Avidicus projects were carried out between 2008 and 2016 with Avidicus 1 (2008-2011), Avidicus 2 (2011-2013), and Avidicus 3 (2014-2016). These projects, co-ordinated by the University of Surrey, received financial support from the European Commission's Directorate-General for Justice, and they gathered many different cross-European stakeholders¹⁷. The Avidicus' overarching aim is to assess Video-Mediated Interpreting in the Criminal Justice System. With such an aim, various interpreting contexts (such as police stations, criminal courtrooms, cross-border resettlement hearings) in different set-ups (face-to-face, RI and/or VCI) in sign and spoken languages are examined. Given the financial pressure exercised across judicial systems in Europe and the increasing need to provide MLS access to interpreters, the Avidicus projects were to "design research-led but practical solutions that aim at mitigating current problems of video-mediated

¹⁶ Avidicus stands for Assessment of Videoconference Interpreting in the Criminal Justice Service.

¹⁷ A comprehensive list of the stakeholders taking part in the projects is available on the Avidicus' webpage at <http://www.videoconference-interpreting.net/>

interpreting rather than stopping at the (scientific) insight that video-mediated interpreting is challenging” (Braun, 2016a, p. 5), which is materialised by the creation of training guidelines and recommendations. Interestingly, the projects conclude by opening up the use of VCI and research to other fields such as mediation in civil and commercial matters or even within healthcare and local government provisions (Braun, 2016a, 2016b). The sub-sections below highlight the main findings in each project. However, given the scope of this doctoral study, only research in VCI used in a legal setting with spoken languages is considered.

3.2.4.1. Avidicus 1

The studies carried out within the scope of Avidicus are divided into four main areas: the legal framework and context, the technological needs and specifications, various experimental studies, and the training required. These studies covered both VCI and RI. As the first two areas (legal framework and technological specifications) have already been discussed in Section 1 and Section 2 of this chapter, this section will focus on the findings from the experimental studies and training recommendations.

Comparative, experimental studies have been articulated around three main settings: the use of VCI/RI during police interviews, in court hearings, and during prosecution interviews. As discussed in Section 3.2.2 above, Braun and Taylor (2011a) investigate the use of RI during police interviews. Also in a police context, Rombouts (2011), a police officer in Antwerp, describes his professional experience in VCI, and he comments on the necessity to build a rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee. He argues that it is much more difficult to establish such a rapport when interviews are conducted via VC systems as the interviewer and interviewee are not co-present. This raises questions as to whether an interpreter in VCI A would then be able to build a rapport with the defendant or witness, which concurs with Ellis (2004)’s findings in immigration hearings. Balogh and Hertog (2011)’s study sheds further light on police interviews by examining interaction in VCI and RI. They (2011, p. 102) simulated sixteen police interviews in order to “observe and analyse the differences in performance and perception between face-to-face, videoconference and remote interpreting.” On the basis of their findings, they argue that VCI and RI require more synchronisation in terms of interaction and turn-taking, and that it is conducive to

overlaps in speech and artificial pauses. However, they conclude that VCI B may be the most favourable option as it is possible to build a rapport between the interpreter and the suspect, which supports Ellis (2004)'s findings discussed above. Furthermore, in VCI B, the interpreter should be seated behind the suspect in order to avoid distractions. However, they argue that this can also lead to the interpreter becoming an advocate for the suspect, which as Devaux (2017) argues, would create ethical rationalisation dilemmas.

In a criminal court context, Miler-Cassino and Rybińska (2011) focus their study on the use of VCI during prosecution questioning of witnesses in Polish courts. As per Balogh and Hertog (2011)'s study above, their aim is to assess "interpreting quality and all the factors that affected or might have affected the quality of interpreter's performance in VCI A and VCI B settings" (Miler-Cassino & Rybińska, 2011, p. 120). They devise a simulation of three case scenarios, using three different interpreters. In terms of assessing the quality of the interpreters' performances, the results are mixed. An interpreter performed better in VCI A than in VCI B or in face-to-face, whilst another performed better in VCI B. These discrepancies may be due to various factors such as a difference in linguistic and interpreting skills, or the knowledge of the subject matter. However, this study also highlights other interesting points. Interpreters reported that they found the experiments more stressful, isolating, and tiring. They also claim that interpreters need to focus more in VCI. These results concur with those gathered from studies on the use of RI in conference settings in terms of the physiological impact of technologies on the interpreter¹⁸. Also, as per Balogh and Hertog (2011)'s study, interpreters prefer to work in VCI B than in VCI A. Finally, this study asserts that the interpreters in their case study have developed, throughout the three days of the experiment, coping techniques for dealing with stress, for instance, as they seemed more relaxed. Unfortunately, they do not provide more detailed information concerning the type of coping techniques used, but this suggests that interpreters may be adapting rather quickly to interpreting in VCI. To some extent, these studies find some concerns similar to those expressed in studies in monolingual settings or in RI as discussed above. However, these studies are

¹⁸ See Section 3.2.2 above.

based on simulations, something which as Fowler (2012) argues, paves the way for more empirical research to be conducted in this area.

The last chapter of the Avidicus 1 project is dedicated to VCI training. It is divided into four presentations that are aimed at student interpreters, practising legal interpreters, and legal practitioners and police officers. The material covers various areas such as legislation governing the use of VC systems, definitions of the various types of technologies used, an overview of the current practice, and some exercises (for student interpreters); and it offers practical guidelines as to when such technologies are used. It is apparent that the material is based on the outcomes of the studies that were carried out within the scope of Avidicus 1.

Braun (2011) concludes by providing recommendations in which she highlights the fact that the use of technologies in the legal sphere is on the increase. However, there are various discrepancies in the actual knowledge and research, and practitioners are expressing uncertainties as to the use of technologies. She further asserts that the technological issues may be the aspect that can be the most easily resolved. However, technologies impact on the interpreter's behaviour, and for this reason further studies are needed, and codes of conduct may need to be amended, thus providing avenues for further research.

3.2.4.2. Avidicus 2

Building on the findings from Avidicus 1, this second project focuses more specifically on the communicative legal goals and adaptive strategies in bilingual, national and cross-European legal proceedings ¹⁹.

When examining the interpreting quality, Braun (2013b) identifies that in police interviews, quality can be impacted by the following interrelated factors: "quality of sound and image, careful and correct positioning of all participants, effective turn-taking and avoiding of overlap, and familiarity with the equipment and setting" (Braun, 2013b, p. 20). Interestingly, even though training and raising awareness on these factors does not eradicate quality issues, it contributes to improving the interpreter's performance. Furthermore, the interpreter's training and education should not take place in a vacuum, but joint training gathering together all the

¹⁹ The exhaustive list of Avidicus 2's aims and outcomes is available at http://www.videoconference-interpreting.net/?page_id=16

judicial actors (police officers, judges, lawyers, etc.) is required. Avidicus 2 also examines the strategies developed by the interpreters when interpreting during simulated prosecution interviews in Poland. Braun (2013b, pp. 31-33) lists the following seven strategies: “request for repetition, alert to problem, comprehension check, direct request for clarification, repetition plus interrogative, approximation, physical resolution” which in fact can be combined. She argues that some are used more successfully than others, and for instance, request for repetition was less efficient than a comprehension check, which was used more frequently. It is interesting to note that most strategies listed require a verbal action from the interpreter, and only “physical resolution” (where the interpreter would use body language, for example) was the only non-verbal strategy. Avidicus 3 also examines the impact of VCI on the dynamics of police interviews and in courtrooms. Braun (2013b)’s findings reveal that VCI impairs rapport building and interaction between participants. Furthermore, “the technology, even when very well designed, may not be able to erase reduction in the quality of the intersubjective relations between the participants” (Braun, 2013b, p. 45), which correlates with the findings in a monolingual setting discussed in Section 3.1 above.

On the basis of the above findings, Braun (2013a) provides a list of recommendations and guidelines to national institutions and authorities within the judicial realm, legal stakeholders (such as judges, lawyers and the police), and court interpreters. These recommendations and guidelines are more detailed than in Avidicus 1, and they are specific to each court participant. For instance, Braun (2013a) provides a step-by-step guideline for court interpreters to follow before, during, and after the VC session in which interpreters are encouraged to familiarise themselves with the equipment, voice their preference between VCI A or VCI B, agree procedures to follow with the other court actors, and monitor their output and body language. Interestingly, and unlike in other studies, she encourages interpreters to keep a diary of their experience in which to note any issues and solutions provided during a VC hearing. It can be argued that such an approach certainly encourages the interpreter to become a reflective practitioner who is then more able to provide adaptive strategies.

3.2.4.3. Avidicus 3

In the Avidicus 3 project, the main aim was “to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the current practices in the implementation and use of VC facilities in the justice sector across Europe” (Braun *et al.*, 2016b, p. 4). The study was carried out in twelve countries²⁰, and for each country the findings are thematised under nine areas: procurement, equipment and maintenance, uses, participant distribution, pre-VC/post-VC, mode of interpreting, VC management, communication management, and working arrangements with interpreters. Given the scope of this study, this section will review only findings for England.

In terms of procurement, Braun *et al.* (2016b) state that VC equipment is used between various judicial bodies (her Majesty’s Courts and Tribunals Service, the Crown Prosecution Service, the National Probation Service, the Prison Service, and the Police), which leads “to a great variety of products and suppliers” (Braun *et al.*, 2016b, p. 20). In this case, and based on the discussion in Section 1.2 above, it could be argued that having many products and suppliers increases the risk of encountering technical issues and equipment incompatibility.

With regard to the equipment and maintenance, the equipment in criminal courts is fixed, and it is installed in already existing court layouts, which means that it requires “compromises in the positioning of the equipment” (Braun *et al.*, 2016b, p. 23). As a result, there exist disparities in terms of the number and the positioning of cameras, screens, microphones. However, the equipment also shows some common features. For instance, it displays picture-in-picture functionalities so that participants can also see themselves on screen. Cameras can also zoom in and out, and they are operated by a member of staff in court. However, given Licoppe *et al.* (2013) and Roth (2000)’s findings discussed in section 3.1 above, this raises further questions regarding staff training and their understanding of the staging and production of VCI court hearings. Furthermore, the connection is made through an ISDN or IP videoconference system. The quality of audio is on the whole good, but the quality of the video feed varies, which could be explained by the use of different connection systems²¹.

²⁰ Belgium, Croatia, England, Finland, France, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Scotland, Spain and Sweden.

²¹ See section 1.2 above.

Braun *et al.* (2016b) state that in England VC systems are used in a multitude of hearings, and this covers Criminal Justice, Civil Justice, Immigration and Asylum. In this context, they assert that VC systems are used predominantly in national cases for hearings that usually last 30 to 45 minutes. Participants' opinions regarding the use of VC equipment tend to vary. Overall, it seems that judicial authorities are satisfied, whereas some judges and interpreters' feelings differ, and some are more cautious.

In terms of participants' distribution, Braun *et al.* (2016b) state that interpreters tend to be located in court next to the defence lawyer, which suggests that VCI A is used more often than VCI B, and which reflects the Bail for Immigration Detainees and the British Refugee Council (2008)'s study. However, when interpreting for a witness giving their testimony, the interpreter tends to be co-present with the witness. It is noteworthy that, as in Avidicus 2, interpreters in Braun *et al.* (2016b)'s report shared different opinions regarding their preferred location, and some would rather be interpreting in the courtroom, whilst others would rather be co-located with the MLS.

Furthermore, interpreters in England receive very little information before the VC hearing which is limited to logistic information (such as time and place), and they are not necessarily provided with the charges or indictments. Braun *et al.* (2016b) also argue that there is no debriefing session regarding the quality of the VC connection, and discussions taking place tend to focus on payment-related matters. However, the lack of information is not exclusive to the use of VCI, and scholars (such as Gamal, 2009; Tipton & Furmanek, 2016) have discussed the negative impact it has on the interpreter's preparation in face-to-face court settings.

In terms of the mode of interpreting, it is confined to consecutive interpreting, and although whispered interpreting is possible in VCI B, "interpreters are often asked not to use whispered interpreting during video links and need to resort to consecutive interpreting" (Braun *et al.*, 2016b, p. 29). The reason given by Braun *et al.* (2016b) is that participants in court feel that whispered interpreting creates a background noise as the interpreter's microphone is still live, and they find it

distracting. However, this results in the interpreter not always having the time to interpret consecutively, and she is instead asked to provide summaries.

Regarding VC management, the interpreters feel that they are more or less visible actors in VCI A and VCI B as they were not always certain if the defendant could see them in VCI A, while in VCI B, they may not have been in the camera shot as the room layout was not conducive to showing both the interpreter and the defendant/witness. As a result, Braun *et al.* (2016b) state that it is more difficult to establish a rapport with the participants on the other side of the screen.

This difficulty in creating a rapport also impacts on the interpreters' ability to manage the communication, both in VCI A and VCI B, and "they need to be more 'forceful' than in [face-to-face] hearings if they need to draw the court's attention, for example, to ask for clarification" (Braun *et al.*, 2016b, p. 31). Although the judge is supposed to manage the interaction, the use of VC systems leads to over-lapping speeches, difficulties in managing turn-taking, and a reduction of non-verbal cues, for instance. Interestingly, these findings correlate with Licoppe and Verdier (2013)'s conclusion. These researchers were also part of the Avidicus project, and they argue that in their study in VCI, the discourse is more fragmented, and there is a greater need to manage turn-taking activities.

Finally, the working arrangements for interpreters have deteriorated since court interpreting provision was outsourced to a private company named ALS (and later Capita). Braun *et al.* (2016b) portray a working environment where underqualified or unqualified interpreters were allowed to work in court, which resulted in the interpreter's remuneration being reduced. At the time when Braun *et al.* (2016b)'s report was written, the contract was put out for tender, which the authors acknowledge. Since then *Thebigword*, a company providing language services, has been awarded the contract, but it appears that the use of under/un-qualified interpreters still persists, and the interpreter's remuneration remains much lower than before the outsourcing²².

²² This is based on interpreters sharing their experience on numerous blogs, Facebook pages or fora such as the *Public Service Interpreters' Forum*, the *Professional Interpreters' Forum*, or the *Linguist Lounge* that are all accessible through Facebook.

The practical implications of these findings were compiled in the *Handbook of Bilingual Videoconferencing* by Braun, Davitti, and Dicerto (2016a). This handbook has a far-reaching target readership as it is designed for policy makers, legal professionals, legal interpreters and technicians. Further to putting forward guidelines on the nine areas discussed above, it also provides training ideas in simulated contexts where all the stakeholders are invited to take part.

Overall, the use of technologies in a mono- or multi-lingual legal setting, be it through TI, RI, or VCI, produces some similar findings. It appears that the participants' perceptions, their body language, or even their emotions can be skewed by the use of technologies, and in this sense, it is more difficult to establish a rapport with the remote participants. These problems can be further aggravated when technological issues, such as poor sound/video quality, are encountered, and despite research advocating an improvement in terms of technical specifications, they still seem to prevail. However, it also appears that questions related to the legalities of technologies are mainly examined in a monolingual setting, whereas research whose focus is on interpreting tends to lay greater stress on the impact that technologies have on the interpreting performance, its quality and the interaction management of the court proceedings.

4. Conclusion

This chapter first described the various settings and permutations that are available when certain technologies are used in an IME. It was then highlighted that their usage, especially VC equipment, is strongly encouraged by various pieces of EU legislation in order to reduce legal costs, speed up proceedings, and enhance safety. However, the roll-out of VC equipment in English criminal courts at the beginning of the 21st century was carried out in a context characterised by the lack of academic research, with the interpreter's view being particularly absent from the implementation process. Nevertheless, studies anchored within legal proceedings conducted in VCI followed suit, and their findings raise concerns regarding the technical equipment itself, the working environment, and the interpreter's performance. These studies often call for further empirical research, but they still highlight that there are discrepancies in the way the use of technologies is perceived by the various court actors. Notably, amongst all the

paradigms explored in this chapter reviewing the current body of literature on the interpreter and the use of technologies, the interpreter's perception of her role when VCI is used in a criminal court setting is strikingly absent from the debate.

Although the role of the interpreter is under-researched in VCI, many studies have examined it from different paradigms and in different settings within face-to-face interactions, and the next chapter will review and analyse how the role of the interpreter is defined and perceived when all the parties are co-present.

Chapter 2: Examining the public service interpreter's role - from a descriptive to a sociological approach

Roy (cited in Mason, 2009, p. 53) reports that at a conference, one interpreting practitioner stated that “interpreters don’t have a problem with ethics, they have a problem with the *role*” (italics in original). Defining the role of the public service interpreter has proved controversial. It emerges from research that the role of the public service interpreter is inscribed within various asymmetries between the service users, the service providers, and the interpreters. To illustrate this, Angelelli (2008) argues that the medical interpreter works in a heterogeneous environment that encompasses very different speech communities: highly-educated to poorly-educated, urban vs. rural participants; and that these are characterised by asymmetrical relationships in terms of power, knowledge, personal beliefs, and other social factors and societal norms. She (2008, p. 149) goes on to state that this heteroclit mix further adds “to the intricacy of [the interpreters’] roles”, which could explain why interpreters have a problem with their role, and not with ethics.

The role of the court interpreter, as a branch of PSI, is no exception to asymmetries and role controversies that predominate in the field of PSI. Hale (2008, pp. 100-101) argues that this is due to numerous factors such as: “lack of uniformity” within the profession (for instance, in terms of training, qualification, professional codes of conduct, remuneration), “lack of research into and critical and analytical study of Community Interpreting”, and “a general professional identity crisis” (whereby users have different expectations of what the interpreter’s role entails). In order to examine these asymmetries, several approaches have been used. As Mason (2009, p. 53) argues, the role of the interpreter has been traditionally examined in a rather descriptive manner and within the scope of what was considered acceptable or not in line with professional standards and codes of conduct. However, research has been steering away from this descriptive approach, and more recent studies examine the interpreter’s role through the prism of sociology, focusing on what is actually happening in an IME, its underlying reasons, and its impact on the interaction.

The aim of this chapter is to review the various roles that the public service interpreter can adopt, and more particularly within a court context. The first part of this chapter will examine how the role of the interpreter has been defined from a descriptive viewpoint through role labels, and how research has moved away from a static interpretation of roles to defining it as a fluid concept. The second part will then examine how sociology has helped shape the current research into this area. Finally, the last part will focus on how the interpreter's role has been perceived by the various participants in an IME.

1. Labelling the public service interpreter's role(s)

In *Interpreting Studies*, the role of the public service interpreter has been discussed by a number of scholars (such as Angelelli (2004); Hale (2008); Inghilleri (2012); Mason (2009); Mikkelsen (2000, 2008); Morris (1995); Pöllabauer (2004)) in medical, court and asylum hearing contexts. When discussing the interpreter's role in a court context, Hale argues that:

the majority of the views proposed on the interpreter's role are based solely on personal preferences and ideologies, some on descriptive studies on the state of affairs, but very few on research that looks at the consequence of the roles proposed. (Hale, 2008, p. 101)

This descriptive and individual approach taken to examine the interpreter's role has led to the creation of many role labels²³ that describe the expected role of the interpreter such as the interpreter as a conduit, or the interpreter as a culture broker. Establishing an exhaustive list of the interpreter's various role labels would serve very little purpose in this thesis. Nonetheless, there are recurring labels within IS literature. This section will first review recurring role labels used to describe the public service interpreter's role in IS. It will then focus more specifically on research carried out in court settings, and the last part will examine how this research aligns with codes of conduct and the court interpreter's oaths in England.

1.1. A sample of recurring role labels

²³ For instance, Roberts (1997) provides a list of many names or role labels describing the role of the public service interpreter.

Niska (2002) offers an overview of four main roles played by the public service interpreter. He labels them as follows: a conduit, a clarifier, a culture broker, and an advocate. He represents them in a pyramid (see Figure 1 below) and he (2002, pp. 138-139) claims that this pyramid is not only a means to qualify the different role types, but it also serves quantitative purposes. Indeed, the conduit model is positioned at the base of the pyramid as it visually represents the fact that this is the role that interpreters adopt most often. As the pyramid goes up, the roles will be adopted less frequently, and the interpreter as the advocate is the one least frequently used.

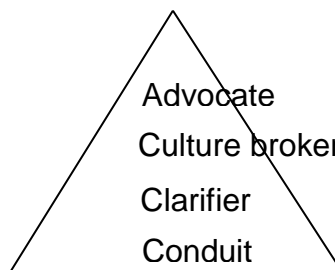


Figure 1: Niska (2002)'s pyramid

The following sub-sections will examine in more depth each of these role labels.

1.1.1. The interpreter as a conduit

Based on Reddy (1979)'s transmission model of communication, the interpreter as a conduit is the first role described by Niska. He (2002, p. 138) claims that as a conduit, the interpreter is "just interpreting". Unfortunately, this definition does not provide much information as to how the interpreter is supposed to interpret an intervention (such as: should she include pauses and hesitations?). However, the interpreter as a conduit has been widely researched by other scholars in IS. With regard to this role, Mason claims that:

A cursory observation of the terms and metaphors commonly used to refer to the interpreting process reveals an image of interpreting as an automatic process and of the interpreter as a "non-person", a mere conduit through which people speak and listen. (...) according to this outlook, the interpreter would enjoy no power at all, simply responding automatically when prompted to do so, to a determinate stimulus. (Mason, 2009, p. 57)

Such a definition focuses on the linguistic rendition of the original intervention. The interpreter is not considered as a person within the interaction, but as a machine, which is another metaphor used in IS to refer to the conduit model. Bot provides a more elaborated definition of what such a role entails:

The interpreter translates as closely to the original utterance as possible. (...) A translation machine interpreter will not ask “unprompted” questions, the only exception being situations in which the interpreter may ask for clarification in the event that he/she has not heard or understood what was said. The interpreter will simply translate whatever the primary participants say. Interpreters operating as translation machines will not interfere when they feel there is a misunderstanding, nor will they adapt the primary speakers’ use of language to prevent any confusion from occurring. (Bot, 2009, p. 117)

This definition highlights that the conduit’s function seeks linguistic equivalence, with the interpreter being able to intervene only to clarify a point that she may have misunderstood. This correlates with Mason’s and Niska’s claims above, whereby the emphasis is placed on the linguistic rendition only. In fact, when defining the interpreter as a conduit, Angelelli (2003, p. 16) compares the interpreter to an invisible actor who is “not considered a party to the conversation but rather a “language-switching operator” in line with the conduit model of communication (Reddy, 1979)”. The specific feature of the conduit model is the fact that the interpreter is perceived as being an invisible actor that is not a party in the IME, and she limits her role to transferring the linguistic content of an intervention. However, it could be argued that she could become more visible in the IME when she intervenes to seek clarification.

1.1.2. The interpreter as a clarifier

The second role in Niska’s pyramid is that of a clarifier. He (2002, p. 138) defines such a role thus: “when it comes to technical or culture-specific terms, the interpreter often has to give explanations in order to make the message accessible to the recipient.” In this role label, the emphasis is put on clarifying either technical or culture-specific terms in the target language. However, Niska fails to acknowledge that the interpreter may need to clarify the technical or culture-specific terms in the source language. As Bot (2009, p.117) argues, there are situations “in which the interpreter may ask for clarification in the event that he/she has not heard or understood what was said”. In her field work, Bot observes

interpreters working in mental health services. She argues that often interpreters do not ask clarifying questions as too much emphasis is put “on translation machine behaviour and the assumption that equivalence is non-problematic discourages the interpreter from asking questions” (Bot, 2009, p. 124). Bot’s findings not only reinforce Niska (2002)’s idea that the interpreter works mainly as a conduit, but based on her field work, this also raises questions as to why the interpreters may not clarify the source message, and the extent to which seeking clarification in an IME is practically feasible or acceptable. Interestingly, Bot (2009) includes the action of clarifying the source message as part of the conduit model, whereas Niska (2002) creates a new role label for the interpreter clarifying the message in the target language.

1.1.3. The interpreter as a culture broker

Cultural references, their specificities and strategies to translate them have been the focus of numerous studies in Translation Studies (such as Mailhac, 1996a; Mailhac, 1996b). Adopting the role of the culture broker is a means to make explicit any cultural references that would be unclear in the target language. In this context, Niska (2002, p. 138) argues that “studies of real-life interpreting show that the interpreter sometimes does have to interrupt the session and give an explanation of some specific cultural issue threatening to develop into a serious misunderstanding.” Moving away from the interpreter as a conduit, this role implies that the interpreter’s interventionist approach is part of the exchange. This role also reveals that aiming for linguistic equivalence can be problematic, as stated by Bot (2009) above, and therefore, the role of the conduit model has its own limitation. It is also interesting to note that Niska’s definition implies that such an intervention is based on the interpreter’s own decision and not on that of other court participants asking for a cultural clarification. According to this role definition, the interpreter is considered as a language expert and a participant in the exchange, with the ability to intervene so that cultural references are made accessible to all the participants. As such, she will be a fully visible actor in the IME.

1.1.4. The interpreter as an advocate

Referring specifically to medical interpreting, Niska defines the role of the advocate as follows:

The role of “advocate” means that the interpreter acts on behalf of the service user (i.e. client) outside the interpreting session. An example of the interpreter feeling this need arises when the patient’s needs are not addressed because of hospital bureaucracy or racism. It would be interesting to see how far these approaches are actually practised at public institutions – probably to a very varied extent. (Niska, 2002, p. 138)

The interpreter as the advocate is a highly visible actor in the IME, and she defends the minority language speaker’s rights. Similarly, according to Roberts (1997, p. 13), Giovannini (1992)’s model promotes advocacy in the list of roles and responsibilities of the “cultural interpreter²⁴” where it is stated that she “advises the client about rights and options in the situation”, “ensures that the client has all relevant information and controls the interaction” and “challenges racially/culturally prejudiced statements or conclusions” on the part of the service provider. Interestingly, such a role positions the interpreter on the service user’s side, but it fails to ask whether the interpreter could also act as an advocate for the service provider.

1.1.5. Other role labels

The list of roles that were identified above is not exhaustive. Other scholars have identified other roles that public service interpreters play. For instance, Merlini and Favaron (2003) or Schneider (1992) claim that the interpreter can be a conciliator whereby she manages the power relation within the IME. Robert defines such a role as follows:

The role of conciliator involves conferring privately with parties to the conflict to determine their perceptions of the issues and concerns and then participating in joint discussions, ensuring that both parties are correctly understood not just in terms of words but also in terms of motives. (Roberts, 1997, p. 14)

It could be argued that such a role would be at the crossroad between the culture broker and the advocate as defined by Niska (2002) above. Indeed, the interpreter would be a visible participant in the interaction as a culture broker, but she would not side with one particular party as would be the case with an advocate. The aim

²⁴ To be understood here as public service interpreter and not as culture broker.

is to communicate the participants' motives and help them find a common ground, which would go far beyond a linguistic rendition or a cultural explanation.

Furthermore, the interpreter can also play the role of an assistant, mainly to the service user. Roberts defines such a role as follows:

In addition to tasks linked directly to the interpreted event, the community interpreter may be required to perform other language related tasks that could range from phoning a government service for information concerning the client to helping them fill out forms. (Roberts, 1997, p. 16)

This role entails similar features to the one of a conciliator as the interpreter would be required to perform further duties than those falling within a more linguistic-based approach. The interpreter performs tasks of a more administrative nature. However, she does not seek to find a common ground or take sides, but she restricts her approach to performing certain tasks that the service user cannot do due to language barriers. This is also highlighted by Merlini (2009), who draws up the following sample list of tasks that the interpreter as an assistant may carry out:

[The interpreters] prepare the patients' case notes, inquiring about the nature of the complaint, and sometimes even about the symptoms, before ushering them into the doctor's room. At the end of the consultation with the doctor, interpreters are once again left to deal on their own with the patients, to give them technical instructions, or simply direct them to another hospital facility or the closest chemist. (Merlini, 2009, p. 91)

Although Roberts (1997) suggests that the interpreter could be the service user's assistant during an IME, Merlini (2009) suggests above that she can also assist the service provider before or after an IME. It could be argued that the interpreter as an assistant makes the interpreter very visible as she performs extra non-interpreting-based duties, but she is not as involved in the IME as the conciliator would be.

Although many of the studies examined above were conducted in healthcare settings, they are representative of the fact that many labels have been used to refer to the public service interpreter. To name but a few, the interpreter as a filter, a detective, a multi-purpose bridge, a diamond connoisseur, or a miner (Angelelli, 2004); the interpreter as an intercultural agent (Barsky, 1994, 1996); the interpreter as a helper, a social worker, an advisor or an advocate (Grbic, 2001);

the interpreter as a fixer or a military linguist (Inghilleri & Harding, 2010); the interpreter as a translation machine, a system agent, an integration agent, a community agent, or a linguistic agent (Leanza, 2005) are all role labels used to describe the interpreter in a public service field. It could be argued that so many role labels contribute to clouding the definition of the interpreter's role. However, all these role labels share a common factor: they consider the interpreter as an (in)visible actor taking a more or less active role in the IME. As this thesis focuses more specifically on court interpreting, the role of the interpreter within a court setting will be examined in more depth in the next sub-section.

1.2. The role of the court interpreter

When examining the notion of role in a legal context, Mikkelsen (2008, p. 82) argues that "the assertion that an accurate interpretation is one that contains no alterations, omissions, additions or explanations is common in writings on the role of the interpreter in the judiciary". This suggests that the expected role of the court interpreter is that of a conduit, as discussed above. However, adding to Niska (2002)'s definition, Martin and Ortega Herráez (2009, p. 145) argue that the conduit model is also referred as the "legal equivalent" whereby the interpreter not only communicates the content of the source message, but she also needs to preserve any paralinguistic features such as pauses, fillers, hesitations, and emotions.

The idea that the role of the court interpreter is that of a conduit or a machine is also highlighted by Laster and Taylor (1994). They argue that "the role and behaviour of professionals and parties is constrained by formal procedure and ritual" (Laster & Taylor, 1994, p. 111). Indeed, the physical layout, where people sit, who speaks when, how parties address each other, and even the dress code in some courts are all elements that are strictly regulated. They also argue that the underlying reasons that the conduit model prevails in court settings is two-fold. Firstly, "because interpreters have power over language, lawyers have consciously sought to regulate and constrain their role within and outside the courtroom. This has been achieved by constructing a narrow role for interpreters, as neutral machines, or 'conduits'" (Laster & Taylor, 1994, p. 111). So it appears that the conduit approach is in fact imposed by the other court actors to restrict the interpreter's power in court. Secondly, "the rules of evidence (...) maintained that

only eye witnesses, or people with first-hand knowledge of facts are reliable witnesses in court” (Laster & Taylor, 1994, pp. 112-113). Evidence repeated by a third party is not admissible in court as it forms part of hearsay. Only by considering the interpreter as a machine, i.e. an invisible, non-person, can the evidence of the MLS be declared admissible in court.

However, the interpreter as a conduit is often described as an ideal rather than a reality (Bot, 2009; Mason, 2009), and even studies carried out as early as in the 1970s demonstrated that the court interpreter is involved as an active participant in court proceedings through distribution of turns, for instance (Lang, 1976, 1978). As a result, Moeketsi and Wallmach (2005) argue that the emphasis put on the interpreter as an ideal conduit in court ignores the fact that the interpreter is an active participant, which leaves the interpreter in a predicament between the expected role and her practical role observed in court. In fact, similarly to the public service interpreter’s roles described in Section 1.1 above, it has been argued by some scholars (such as Berk-Seligson, 1990; Fenton, 1997; Jansen, 1995; Martin & Ortega Herráez, 2009) that the interpreter can adopt active roles and participate as a fully-fledged actor in court.

In order to partially explain, and to a certain extent justify, such a move away from the expected conduit model, Martin and Ortega Herráez (2009, p. 145) emphasize the organic nature of court interpreters arising from evolving norms and power imbalance within interactions. They argue that such a context leads the interpreter to make complex decisions for which they react instinctively “moved not only by the desire to interpret faithfully what has been said, but also to ensure that their interpretation has been fully understood by the listener” (Martin & Ortega Herráez, 2009, p. 146). The interpreter is torn between adopting a mechanical approach and being a conduit, and taking a more active role within the IME. Although Martin and Ortega Herráez mention that there are various options offered to the interpreter, they fail to provide more information on the various potential roles that a court interpreter could adopt. However, Hale (2008, p. 99), for instance, provides a list of the five “most commonly practised and proposed” roles available to court interpreters, namely the interpreter as: an advocate for the minority language speaker, an advocate for the institution of the service provider, a gatekeeper, a facilitator of communication, and a faithful renderer of the others’ utterances.

The role of Hale (2008)'s advocate for the minority language speakers bears many similarities with Niska (2002)'s role of advocate in the sense that she speaks on behalf of the MLS, and she adapts the tone, lexis, and style of the service provider's intervention. However, in contrast to Niska's model, Hale does not explicitly state that the interpreter defends the minority language speaker's right in case of racism, for instance. Furthermore, Hale also acknowledges that the interpreter can act as an advocate for the institution or the service provider. In that case, the interpreter "is more concerned with the needs of the institution or service provider than the needs of the [MLS]" (Hale, 2008, p. 107). For instance, the interpreter edits the defendant's intervention to save time by deleting what she perceives as irrelevant, or she encourages the defendant to accept a plea deal. Interestingly, this sheds a new dimension on Niska's definition of the advocate as the interpreter as an advocate can also side with the court staff.

The third role described by Hale (2008) is the interpreter acting as a gatekeeper. She claims that such a role has been mainly observed in medical settings²⁵ in the United States of America, but she hypothesises that it can also be adopted in courtrooms. In such a role, the interpreter is the main actor in the IME, and she disempowers both parties by becoming a medical or legal expert. For instance, she asks her own questions, and she makes her own medical diagnostic. However, the gatekeeper is poorly referenced in court interpreting literature, and this could explain why Hale argues that the interpreter as a gatekeeper is more common in a healthcare setting.

According to Hale (2008), the court interpreter can also act as a facilitator of communication. In this role, the interpreter's main aim is to filter the communication to ensure that both parties understand each other. Hale adds that the interpreter can voice her opinions in the IME, but unlike both advocate roles described above, the interpreter does not side with one party. In that sense, this role also bears strong resemblance with that of the conciliator discussed in Section 1.1.5 above, although the aim is not specifically to resolve conflicts.

²⁵ For a more detailed analysis of the interpreter acting as a gatekeeper in medical settings, see Davidson (2000).

Finally, the court interpreter can adopt the role of the faithful renderer of others' utterances. Hale defines this role as follows:

The role of the "faithful renderer of others' utterances" does not support the machine metaphor which implies a literal translation. (...) The interpreter's very difficult role is to attempt to understand *the intention* of the utterance and portray it as faithfully as possible in the other language. (My Italics) (Hale, 2008, p. 115)

The interpreter focuses on the pragmatic effect and the cultural convention of the source message, and she is expected to decipher its intended meaning. However, as Davies and Harré (1990) argue, the intended meaning does not always correspond to the way it is perceived by the person that is listening, which could explain why Hale states that this role may be assumed less often than the others.

It is interesting to note that Hale does not refer to the court interpreter as a conduit, and that she builds her research on the understanding that the conduit model is an ideal. Instead, in her list of roles, she acknowledges that the interpreter is a visible actor that takes part in the court hearing.

Similarly to the public service interpreter's role labels, various other labels are used in IS to refer to the court interpreter's role such as the court interpreter as a linguistic conduit (González, Mikkelsen, & Vásquez, 1991); the court interpreter as a mediator (Kang, 1998); the court interpreter as an intermediary (Lang, 1976); the interpreter as a cultural expert (Laster & Taylor, 1994); the court interpreter as an impartial translation machine, a linguistic and cultural bridge, an expert witness (Mikkelsen, 1998); and the court interpreter as a cultural or linguistic mediator, or a communication facilitator (Nartowska, 2016). Although many labels have been used, studies discussed above all concur to say that the court interpreter is a fully-fledged visible actor in a court hearing, and the conduit or machine approach is more of an ideal than an achievable role description.

1.3. The role as a fluid notion

During the first Critical Link conference, Roberts (1997) expressed some doubts as to how interpreters could adopt various roles in an IME. Since then, research has demonstrated that the interpreter's role is in fact a fluid notion. For instance, when discussing which role to adopt, Niska (2002) argues that his pyramid represents the fact that the interpreter's role is not static, but rather is fluid as the

interpreter can move from one role to another. The idea that the interpreter does not play only one role, but that she adopts various roles within an IME has been supported by various scholars. For instance, Pöchhacker (2008b, p. 13) argues that the interpreter does not adopt one role in an IME, but she can be “posited along a continuum of active involvement and intervention, ranging from the least active, such as a neutral messenger, to the most involved, such as a negotiator.” It seems that the various role labels discussed in Sections 1.1 and 1.2 above form a continuum along which the interpreter can adopt many roles depending on how involved and visible she is as an interactive person.

Defining the role as a continuum where the interpreter is more or less active is argued by other scholars. For instance, in her study, Bot (2009) identifies a continuum (Figure 2 below) which contains three main roles.

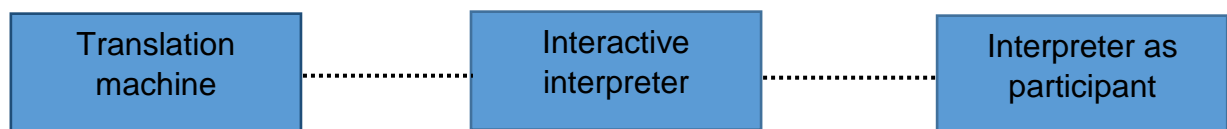


Figure 2: Bot (2009)'s continuum

In her study, Bot lists several role labels defining the role of the interpreter within an IME, and she argues that:

As each of the models considered involved varying degrees of “interactiveness” or “machines”, a continuum could be constructed. In practice, the interpreter and the professional user move along this continuum within one assignment, adopting different positions that depend on the immediate communicative context and on their own (normative) ideas about how to behave. (Bot, 2009, p. 121)

According to Bot, the interpreter as a machine and the interpreter as an interactive participant are role labels located at the opposite ends of the spectrum, which concurs with Pöchhacker (2008b)’s findings. She acknowledges that the interpreter’s role is changing throughout one assignment, based on the following two criteria: (1) the communicative need arising from the context, and (2) the interpreter’s own perception of their professional role. Such an approach reflects Niska’s pyramid where the conduit model is situated at the opposite end of the advocate, and the interpreter is more or less visible in her own right as a participant in the IME. Interestingly, she argues that although her study focuses on

psychotherapeutic IMEs, her continuum could be applied to other contexts where an interpreter is present, with the exception of the legal sphere. She states that:

In different institutional settings, there will be different normative judgements about these positions. In police interviews, court settings and other adversarial situations, the position of the interpreter as participant is very restricted – interpreters will try to steer away from the participant end of the continuum and try to stay as close as possible to the translation machine end. In the healthcare, however, the interactive position is often preferred and the interpreter as participant is allowed. (Bot, 2009, p. 122)

According to Bot, the court interpreter adopts an approach that is closer to the translation machine ideology, unlike in a medical setting. However, such a stance contradicts Hale (2008)'s model above, as in her observations, the court interpreter adopts a more interactive approach, and no reference to the conduit model is made. Bot (2009)'s continuum and Niska (2002)'s pyramid both demonstrate that the notion of role is fluid and that interpreters can adopt various role labels within one IME. However, their models could be misleading in the sense that, although the interpreter can change her role, it could be inferred that the transition from one role to another is done gradually.

In a similar line of thought Mason substitutes the notion of role by that of positioning in order to “reflect the constantly evolving nature of interaction among participants in interpreter-mediated encounters” (Mason, 2009, p.53). The term ‘positioning’ refers to the possibility of moving from one role to the other, depending on the IME’s specific situational requirements. Furthermore, adding to Bot (2009)'s view, that the interpreter’s role depends on the communicative needs and the interpreter’s perception of her own role, he argues that “by their conversational moves, participants position themselves and others and are, in turn, positioned by others’ moves” (Mason, 2009, p. 53). Interestingly, he describes positioning as being a reflexive action executed by the interpreter, which is also influenced by the other participants’ perceptions.

Overall, it appears that the interpreter can adopt various roles within one IME, which depends on the communicative needs, the interpreter’s perception of her role, and the other participants’ perception. However, findings on the fluidity of the court interpreter’s role seem to be inconclusive, as some studies argue that her role is in fact quite close to that of the conduit model, whereas others demonstrate

that her role is as fluid as in other contexts. The next sub-section examines the extent to which research on the interpreter's role translates into practice through interpreters' codes of conduct.

1.4. The interpreter's role according to codes of conduct and oaths

Many countries such as Canada, Australia, the United States of America, and England regulate court interpreting through codes of conduct and oaths.

Describing these codes, González *et al.* (1991) argue that:

Most codes of ethics and oaths adhered to by court interpreters – in addition to the attitude of many professionals who work with the interpreters within the justice system (judges, prosecutors, barristers, etc.) – clearly reflect the philosophy that, to be faithful to the original, the court interpreter must be as literal as possible, without omitting or adding anything and without modifying the register used by either of the intervening parties. (González *et al.*, 1991, p. 155)

It appears that the court interpreter is expected to follow a more mechanical approach when interpreting, and as such she is bound by her code of conduct to adhere to the conduit model. In England various interpreting bodies and even translation agencies possess their own codes of conduct (e.g. the Institute of Translators and Interpreters (ITI), or the Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIoL)²⁶). Their aim is to regulate their members, but a point worth noting is that their codes are not context-bound. In other words, their codes are applicable to conference interpreters or public service interpreters working in healthcare, social service, or legal settings. There are, however, some exceptions. For instance, the Association of Police and Court Interpreters (APCI)²⁷ has designed a code that is specific to legal interpreters only, which may be due to this association limiting its remit to the legal field. The court interpreter working in England is expected to be a member of the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (Mikkelsen, 1998)²⁸, and as such, it is expected that she abides by the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*. Surprisingly, and although

²⁶ Their respective codes are available at <http://www.iti.org.uk/become-a-member/code-of-professional-conduct>, and <http://www.ciol.org.uk/code>.

²⁷ Code available here:

http://www.apciinterpreters.org.uk/apci_interpreters_code_of_practice.aspx.

²⁸ As discussed in Chapter 1, the translation and interpreting agency, *Thebigword*, was awarded the tender for court interpreting in 2016. It is currently unclear whether their interpreters are all DPSI qualified and registered on the National Register of Public Service Interpreters.

court interpreters must abide by it, this code is not context-specific, as the APCI's code is. Nonetheless, as the code is binding, its description of the interpreter's role will be examined in more depth below.

According to this code, the interpreters shall "interpret truly and faithfully what is uttered, without adding, omitting or changing anything" (Article 5.4), and the interpreter "shall not enter into discussion, give advice or express opinions or reactions to any of the parties that exceed their duties as interpreters" (Article 5.9). These articles clearly indicate a desire to treat the interpreter as a conduit, as is argued by González *et al.* (1991) above. However, these Articles also include caveats. For instance, Article 5.4 then stipulates that an interpreter can provide summaries on request, and Article 5.9 is to be applied in "contexts where the requirement for neutrality between parties is absolute". Unfortunately, this code falls short of defining what constitutes such contexts. Furthermore, although Article 5.12 stipulates that the interpreter "shall not interrupt, pause or intervene", there are some circumstances where the interpreter can become more visible. For instance, the interpreter can seek clarification (Article 5.12.1), give warning of a misunderstanding (Article 5.12.2), or of a cultural reference (Article 5.12.3), and signal any factor affecting her interpreting performance (Article 5.12.4). To some extent, it could be argued that in some circumstances, the code enables the interpreter to adopt the role of a culture broker or a conciliator by alerting parties to potential misunderstandings.

Overall, although the code promotes a conduit approach, it also enables the interpreter to position herself in accordance with some of the role labels discussed in Sections 1.1 and 1.2 above. As a result, the interpreter can be more visible in an IME. There is little room for manoeuvre as the code does not cater for any roles that are extremely visible or which would position the interpreter as a fully-fledged participant. Indeed, there is no leeway allowing the interpreter to become an advocate for any of the parties, a gatekeeper or a facilitator of communication. Notwithstanding this restriction, allowing more visibility contradicts González *et al.* (1991)'s definition above in which they state that codes of conduct define the court interpreter's role as close to the conduit model as possible. A possible reason for such a contradiction may reside in the fact that the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s code is not context-specific, and by trying to cater for

the various settings in which the interpreter works, some of its articles may tacitly cease to be applicable.

Further to abiding by the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*, the court interpreter is also expected to take an oath at the start of the hearing. She can either take the following religious oath: "I swear by Allah/Almighty God, etc. that I will well and faithfully interpret and true explanation make of all such matters and things as shall be required of me according to the best of my skill and understanding"; or she can affirm: "I do solemnly declare that I will well and faithfully interpret and true explanation make of all such matters and things as shall be required of me according to the best of my skill and understanding."²⁹

In terms of defining the role of the interpreter, the religious oaths and the affirmation are more opaque than the code described above. It could be questioned, for instance, what precisely "well and faithfully interpret" means. Nonetheless, it provides the interpreter with some autonomy in the sense that she is expected to explain "matters and things", which would align with Niska (2002)'s role of the clarifier or culture broker. The oaths and affirmation also state that the interpreter shall "interpret to the best of [her] skill and understanding". Laster and Taylor (1994, p. 167) argue that interpreters are not expected to interpret "flawlessly" but "to the best of their skill and understanding", and this demonstrates that "the standard is that of a competent professional who owes an ethical duty to the court." However, the lack of clarity as to what constitutes the best skills and understanding may further fuel the diverging opinions as to what the interpreter's role entails. Furthermore, the oath and the affirmation provide the court interpreter with some autonomy as she can interact by providing explanations, for instance. However, their boundaries are rather vaguely defined and left to the participants' own interpretations, as they do not stipulate who can request an explanation or what constitutes an explanation.

²⁹ The various versions of the religious oath and the affirmation are available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/264330/MSLchapter27annexB.pdf

Overall, the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* caters, to some extent, for the fact that the conduit approach is not tenable, and it encourages the interpreter to adopt other roles. This contradicts Angelelli's findings, as she states that:

Empirical research has not permeated yet into the profession and that codes of conduct, or codes of ethics, or professional training do not take into account the research on the role of the interpreter and they still portray the interpreter as a conduit. (Angelelli, 2008, p. 151)

It can be argued that the code and the interpreter's oath/affirmation discussed above reflect part of the research in IS in the sense that they enable the court interpreter to become, on occasion, more visible. However, they restrict such visibility to some prescribed situations, and they do not, for instance, acknowledge that the court interpreter is a fully-fledged participant, as Hale (2008)'s four role labels imply.

To conclude, Section 1 has demonstrated that the interpreter's role can be described using different labels, regardless of the context, but depending on how much of an (in)visible actor the interpreter is. Furthermore, the interpreter's role is not static, and within an IME, the interpreter can adopt several roles, depending on the communicative function, the interaction, and the interpreter's role perception. To a limited extent, this is reflected in the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* and the interpreter's oath and affirmation. However, such a margin of manoeuvre leaning away from the prescribed expectation of the conduit model is restricted.

2. The role of the public service interpreter through the prism of sociology

As discussed by Hale (2008, p. 101), research on the interpreter's role is "based solely on personal preferences and ideologies". As a result, the role labels identified above are defined in a rather prescriptive manner by stating what the interpreter should be doing or not, and the approach used to identify these roles may lack deeper theoretical grounding. However, some scholars (such as Angelelli, 2004; Inghilleri, 2003; Inghilleri & Harding, 2010; Wadensjö, 1998) adopt an interdisciplinary approach to examining the interpreter's role, and they call upon sociology to frame their research. This section will review various studies on

the role of the interpreter which are grounded within two main sociological paradigms, using the work of Goffman (such as 1961, 1981, 1990) and Bourdieu (such as 1987, 1991). It will finally examine a rather recent research paradigm in IS that also studies the role of the interpreter through sociology, namely role-space.

2.1. A Goffmanian perspective

Some scholars (such as Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000) rely on the work by the American sociologist Goffman to investigate areas of Interpreting Studies. According to Mason (2009), Wadensjö (1998) carries out one of the first studies that examines participants' behaviour in face-to-face interpreting through a Goffmanian approach. Indeed, inspired by Goffman (1961)'s social interaction framework of roles, she argues that an interpreter's role can fall within three categories: the Normative Role, the Typical Role and the Role Performance. The Normative Role is based on "what people think they are or should be doing when acting in a certain role" (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 83). Interestingly, the Normative Role forms the basis of prescriptive codes of conduct in which it is stipulated how interpreters are expected to act, based on the NRPSI (2011)'s code.

However, Wadensjö also acknowledges the fact that not every situation can be pre-empted in codes of conduct, in which case the interpreter can adopt a Typical Role whereby the interpreter "takes into account that the conditions for performing a certain role typically fluctuate from time to time and place to place" (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 83). The idea that a role is not fixed and would alter depending on the context may further explain why so many role labels are designed as the studies' contexts differ.

Finally, Wadensjö refers to the notion of Role Performance, whereby

[some] aspects of the individual's behaviour which stem neither from normative nor from typical standards, must be explained by circumstances in the situation (e.g. other people present, light, noise, physical objects) and by the performer's style while on duty. (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 83)

The role performance provides the interpreter with certain features whereby the personal style or the interpreter as a social actor influences the interpreter's role. For the purpose of this study, it would be interesting to examine the extent to which physical objects such as VC equipment may influence the interpreter's

perception of her role as being part of Role Performance, and not as her Normative or Typical Role.

Wadensjö (1998, p. 83) also refers to Goffman's work to define the 'role other' as "the relevant audience with whom [the interpreters] interact in the role in question", and she asserts that "interpreters must see to it that the impressions they make on the 'role others' are compatible with role-appropriate personal qualities these ascribe to them." This concurs with Mason (2009)'s positioning approach discussed above as the interpreter's decision-making process as to what role to adopt is not carried out in a vacuum, and she must take into consideration the other participants' expectations. Furthermore, Wadensjö also argues that the decision-making process occurs in a situated activity system, such as a court environment, and in which the "role other's' respective actions, differentiated and interdependent, fit together into patterns defining a situated activity system" (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 84). This suggests that a certain degree of negotiations may need to take place when the interpreter strays away from the Normative Role, so that the role or positioning adopted by the interpreter and validated by the other participants fits within the situated activity system. In fact, she uses Goffman's concept of footing to demonstrate that the interpreter's role may be negotiated after each intervention, and the interpreter becomes a coordinator of the IME. Since then, the interpreter as a coordinator has been widely reported in IS³⁰.

Overall, Angelelli (2008, p. 150) argues that Wadensjö's approach "question[s] the normative character of the literature in interpreting that characterizes how interpreter "should perform" instead of looking at the performances of interpreters in actual cases." Wadensjö (1998)'s piece of work is a landmark in the study of the interpreter's role as it clearly departs from prescriptively defining the normative role of the interpreter. In fact, Wadensjö equips the researcher in IS with pieces of sociological apparatus (such as Typical Role, or Role Other) to examine how the role is defined through the participants' interaction, and to explain why the interpreter steers away from her normative role.

2.2. A Bourdieusian outlook

³⁰ For instance, Baraldi and Gaviolo (2012) dedicate an edited volume on the interpreter coordinating participants within various settings.

Inghilleri (2003, 2005, 2009)'s studies are extensively based on another sociological approach, one that draws on the work carried out by the French sociologist Bourdieu. As Inghilleri (2005, p. 125) states, research based on a Bourdieusian paradigm illustrates the shift from the "predominant concern with translated textual products" to an investigation of the interpreter as a social actor in an institutionalised encounter. In this sociological approach, concepts such as *habitus* (e.g.: the interpreter's habits and skills), field (the context in which the interpreter works), and capital (for instance, the interpreter's cultural, economic and social assets) are of particular relevance when investigating the social and cultural role played by the interpreter.

Bourdieu's work has been applied to various PSI settings. For instance, Angelelli (2004) applies the concept of *habitus* in hospital settings, where she observes interactions between patients, medical staff, and medical interpreters. She argues that "interpreters' perceptions of patients, coupled with their assumptions and their social baggage (...) play an important role in how they construct meaning" (Angelelli, 2004, p. 128). This is particularly true for interpreters that are trained as medical practitioners, thus informing their *habitus* and capital as they are quicker to elaborate on medical terms so that the patients understand. With regard to the legal field, Inghilleri (2003) draws on Toury's translational norms, Bourdieu's field and *habitus*, and Bernstein's pedagogic discourse to examine "interpreting as a norm-governed translational activity" (Inghilleri, 2003, p. 243). In her study, she identifies that the court interpreter negotiates her relationships differently with the other court actors and her findings reveal that the court interpreter adopts various roles (conduit, advocate for the institution or advocate for the minority language speaker) that are based on "the interlocking fields, *habitus* and norms evident in the interpreting context itself" (Inghilleri, 2003, p. 259). These findings add to the studies discussed in Sections 1 and 2 above as the interpreter can adopt different roles with different participants within an IME.

Another example illustrating how fields, *habitus*, and norms intertwine to define the role of the interpreter can be found in Inghilleri and Harding (2010)'s study of the interpreter's role in conflict zones. They state that:

Civilian interpreters hired by the military for their language and cultural skills, local hire 'fixers' who work with international journalists and military

‘linguists’ who operate in a dual capacity as interpreter and soldier are directly involved in the quotidian events and outcomes of war. (Inghilleri & Harding, 2010, p. 166)

In conflict zones, the interpreter as a fixer goes beyond a language remit, and she works as an assistant for journalists by performing tasks such as driving a car. Similarly, the interpreter as a military linguist also goes beyond a language remit, and she is part of one of the ground combat troops. However, according to Inghilleri and Harding (2010), this role duality is embedded within tensions and contradictions with regard to the interpreter’s personal, political and professional stance.

Overall, studies anchored within a Bourdieusian paradigm analyse the interpreter’s *habitus*, field, and capital in various contexts such as medical, legal, and war zones. Using such concepts enables the research to explain the interpreter’s role through her experience or the context in which she works. Interestingly, research also shows that the interpreter’s role may differ between the participants within the same IME. However, the studies discussed in this sub-section tend to create a new role (e.g.: the interpreter as a fixer or as a military linguist), which contributes to designing more role labels. The next sub-section will analyse how research on the role of the interpreter can be carried out without the use of additional role labels.

2.3. Role and the concept of role-space

Role-space is a rather new theoretical framework in IS, and it became more widely known with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)’s publication. This sub-section will first define role-space, and then it will examine how role-space is operationalised.

2.3.1. Defining role-space

Studies previously mentioned in this chapter all rely on attributing a role label to the role observed or analysed. As seen in Section 1, many roles describing the public service or court interpreter’s role have been designed. In this context, Gentile *et al.* (1996) argue that:

a ‘kaleidoscope of roles’ (...) is not conducive to the creation of a professional identity, ethical standards and esprit de corps amongst interpreters (...) We regard it as axiomatic that clarification of the role of the

interpreter will lead to increased professionalism and a better service to clients. (Gentile *et al.*, 1996, p. 32)

Noteworthy here is their argument that multiplying the interpreter's role labels is counter-productive, which, to some extent, is what research has been focusing on. Steering away from labelling the interpreter's role, Lee and Llewellyn-Jones (2011) and Llewellyn-Jones & Lee (2009, 2013, 2014) have designed a model that conceptualises the interpreter's role in a 3-D plan.

Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 10) argue that "rather than a rule-based description of 'role', a more complete and usable notion is that interpreters' behaviours are governed by the *role-space* they create and inhabit in a given situation" (italics in original). Their role-space model is based on findings that emerged from interpreting research acknowledging that the interpreter's role is fluid, and that it can be expressed along a continuum.

The interpreter's model is assessed alongside three main axes (X, Y, and Z), as shown in the template (Figure 3) below, and each axis could be defined as follows:

X: the axis of participant/conversational alignment; sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic

Y: the axis of interaction management

Z: the axis of 'presentation of self' (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 10)

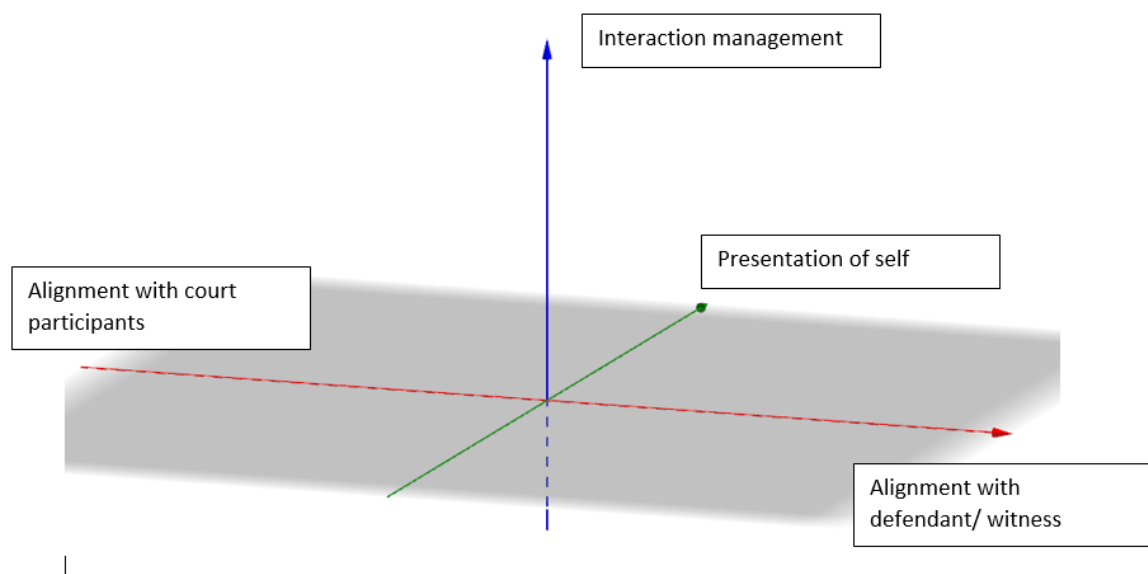


Figure 3: Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s role-space template³¹

The X axis refers to how the interpreter aligns with the other participants. As Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 33) argue, the notion of impartiality has been examined in IS, and scholars such as Cook (2004) and Metzger (1999) demonstrate that although impartiality is often seen by all participants in an IME as a key principle, this is simply not achievable. Instead of aiming for impartiality, they argue that the interpreter's role should be assessed as part of a continuum reflecting how the interpreter aligns with the participants (such as the service user and the service provider), and each participant should be situated at the end of each side of the axis³².

The Y axis denotes the interpreter's management of the interaction. Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) assert that part of the interpreter's role is to manage the interaction between the participants, especially in terms of turn-taking or overlapping talks, which concurs with other studies set in court settings (such as Berk-Seligson, 1990; Hale, 2004). They further assert that the interpreter manages the interaction in a covert or overt manner, in which case the interpreter is a more or less visible agent. Her interaction management is assessed on the Y axis that is

³¹ In order to ensure that role-space models designed hereafter remain legible, the labels 'presentation of self', 'participant alignment', and 'interaction management' will no longer be included. However, each model axis is to be read in accordance with this template.

³² For instance, on the template (Figure 3), the court participants are situated at the opposite end of the defendant/witness.

used as a continuum and alongside which high management is situated at the top of the axis, whilst low management is at the opposite end.

Finally, inspired by the work of Goffman, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 15) define the Z axis as “the scale of the presentation of self axis [which] runs from low presentation of self (not interacting, not presenting any information) to high (speaking for one’s self, providing information)”. The Z axis is also described as a continuum, and it encompasses characteristics that are usually attributed from the conduit model (low presentation of self), to other role types whereby interpreters are full participants (such as the advocate).

In line with the discussions in Sections 1 and 2 regarding the organic nature of the role, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 128) argue that:

Role-spaces are not fixed; instead they develop as the interaction develops, constantly changing to reflect the movement along the axes at different points to reflect the shift in turns and footings.

Interestingly, this suggests that the interpreter’s role-space evolves within one IME, and depending on the alignment with the participant, the interpreter’s interaction management, and the interpreter’s presentation of the self, the shape of the 3-D role-space changes.

2.3.2. Operationalising role-space

In order to put their model into practice, Lee and Llewellyn-Jones (2011, pp. 4-5) and Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2013, p. 62) design a sample list of criteria used to assess the court interpreter’s presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management, which are summarised in Table 1 below.

	Presentation of Self	Interaction Management	Participant Alignment
The interpreter:	introduces herself/ takes the oath or affirms	requests for clarification or repetition	addresses specific participants directly

	Presentation of Self	Interaction Management	Participant Alignment
	answers direct questions	manages turn-taking	provides feedback and back-channels
	gives insights into her personal likes/dislikes	requests specific actions	explains some aspects of the interpreting process
	refers to herself as “the interpreter”	requests change in the environment	smiles when a participant makes a humorous contribution
	divulges personal information about herself		Reads body language/ establishes eye-contact

Table 1: Sample list of role-space criteria from Lee and Llewellyn-Jones (2011)

It is worth noting that the more criteria met by the interpreter, the higher her presentation of self or interaction alignment is located on the role-space model, and the same principle applies on the participant alignment axis.

Based on this sample list of criteria, the following case scenario could be hypothesised. A court interpreter introduces herself to the parties, she is sworn in at the beginning of the hearing, but she does not divulge more information about herself. During the hearing, the interpreter reads the participants’ body language to obtain feedback, and she back-channels to the person speaking to demonstrate that she understands what has been said. She establishes eye-contact with the English-speaking court participants, and she does the same when she interprets to the defendant. She does not hesitate to interrupt the interactions in order to seek clarifications, and she interjects when speeches are over-lapping so that she can give turns efficiently. However, there is no dyadic exchange between herself and the other participants. In such a hypothetical court scenario, it could be argued that her presentation of self is low, and her interaction

management is quite high. Furthermore, she aligns equally with the court participants and the defendant. Her role-space model could be designed as follows (Figure 4):

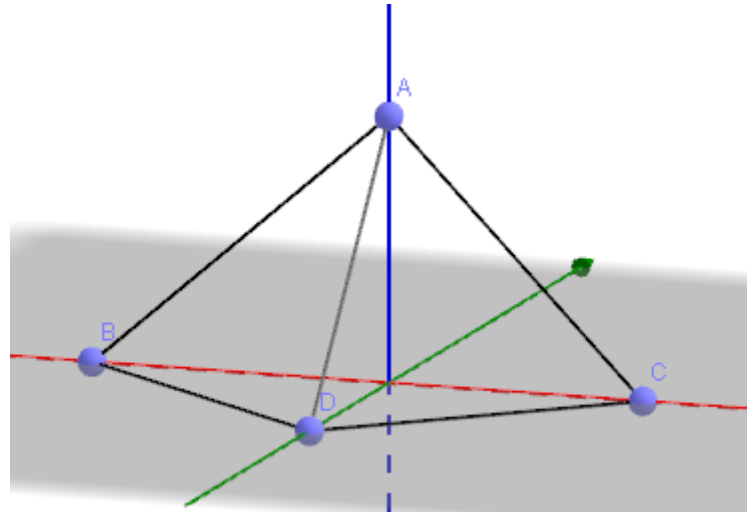


Figure 4: Hypothesised court interpreter's role-space model

Generally speaking, then, despite the fact that role-space is a rather new theoretical framework, and as a result, research using such a framework is scarce, role-space presents several benefits. Indeed, it is posited that role-space enables the researcher to examine the interpreter's role, taking into account the latest research carried out in IS. The model reflects that the interpreter is a third-party active actor in an IME, who can be more or less visible, and who is more than a conduit by managing the interaction, for instance. This aligns with the Goffmanian or Bourdieusian approaches examined earlier. Her role-space model may evolve throughout an IME by reducing or increasing her presentation of self, interaction management, or participant alignment. Interestingly, role-space is not based on the interpreting setting or the interpreting mode, and it allows the researcher to steer away from labelling the interpreter's role, which could help reduce the interpreter's confusion regarding her role. For these reasons, it is posited that role-space is fit for purpose for this study.

3. Role perception

As has been discussed in Sections 1 and 2 above, the interpreter's role has been analysed in various studies. However, Martin and Ortega Herráez (2009) argue that only a few examine the interpreter's self-perception of her own role. Although this may be true to a certain extent, interpreters' perceptions of their role have still

been studied by some scholars (such as Martin & Abril Martí, 2008), but only a few studies look at their role within court settings. This part will therefore examine how users perceive the interpreter's role, and then how the interpreter herself perceives her own role, with a particular attention paid to her role perception within a court setting.

3.1. The users' perceptions of the interpreters' role

Pöchhacker (2000) reports on a survey in which over 600 public service providers in Austrian medical and social service settings took part. Notably, rather than looking at a general definition of the interpreter's role, he analyses the various tasks that an interpreter may be carrying out. Over fifty percent of the service providers attribute the following characteristic functions to the role of the interpreter: simplify language, explain terms, summarise client's intervention, explain culture, clarify directly, alert to miscommunication, ask and inform, and fill in forms. However, over two-thirds of the respondents state that "omitting utterances which are not to the point to avoid losing time" is not part of the interpreter's role (Pöchhacker, 2000, p. 55). In this context, he asserts that interpreting is perceived as a multifaceted task that goes beyond a linguistic transfer, and in which omissions are mostly deemed unacceptable. This array of role attributes clearly demonstrates how wide-ranging the service providers' expectations are, and how they expect the interpreter to assume various roles within one IME (from a conduit model to the role of culture broker, a facilitator and an advocate for the institution of the service provider), which "stress[es] the mismatch between user expectations and the realities of verbal interaction" (Mason, 2000, p. 219). This suggests that service providers may also perceive the role of the interpreter as being part of a continuum of positionings, as discussed in Section 2.

Similarly, Mesa (2000) reports on a survey with 288 health care workers, which was coupled with focus groups amongst 33 people working in this field. Her study, which was conducted in Canada, is interesting in that it shows very strong similarities with Pöchhacker (2000)'s work, which was conducted in Austria. Indeed, Mesa's findings demonstrate that the service providers expect the interpreter to be more than a conduit, and she is expected to inform the service

provider of misunderstandings, breakdowns in communication, cultural barriers, and to clarify terminology to the service user. These studies show that the service user's overarching expectations in medical settings are similar across countries. This suggests that the service providers' perception of the interpreter's role may not be country-bound.

There are fewer studies that examine the perception of the interpreter's role from the service user's viewpoint. However, it seems that the service users put the emphasis on the notion of trust, and as Edwards, Temple, and Alexander (2005) argue, service users usually prefer using family and friends as their interpreters.

There are also fewer studies examining the service providers' perceptions of the interpreter's role in a court setting. Laster and Taylor (1994, p. 114) argue that "lawyers are suspicious of interpreters who cannot match word-for-word. In our study, presumed departure from word-for-word was one of the most frequent criticisms made of interpreters by judges and lawyers." The role of the court interpreter is described around the concept of legal equivalence. It is therefore not surprising to note that the legal profession's perception of the court interpreter's role aligns with that of the conduit model. This can explain the reason why the court interpreter is often referred to as being a phonograph, a transmission belt, or a mouthpiece (Laster & Taylor, 1994; Mikkelsen, 2008; Morris, 1999). All of these terms refer to the court interpreter as being a non-person, a notion which adheres to the conduit model. However, there are some exceptions. For instance, Lee (2009) reports on a survey in which 226 legal professionals and 36 court interpreters took part. She discovers that although 67% of the legal professionals believe that the interpreter is a translation machine, they acknowledge that the interpreter can adopt the following roles: facilitator of communication (54%), language expert (20%), culture expert (6%), and advocate for the witness (1%). This suggests that the legal professionals' perception of the court interpreter's role may be evolving. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the defendant's perception of the interpreter's role is an under-researched area, which could be due to the difficulties in finding and accessing minority language-speaking defendants, but which offers avenues for further research worth considering.

3.2. The interpreter's perception of her role

Martin and Abril Martí (2008) analyse, through the use of a questionnaire, the interpreter's perceptions of her role in various public service settings (hospitals, social services, courts, etc.) in Spain. In total twenty-five filled-in questionnaires were received, and they show that the interpreters perceive their role differently. In terms of adapting the register, tone, and specialised terminology, only one interpreter stated that she never adapts the message to be conveyed, whereas most declared that they adapt the message in order to conform to the socio-cultural and education level of the users. It is worth noting that some declared that they adapt their output in some contexts (social service), but not in others (court). And finally, one court interpreter stated that she adapts the message in favour of the users. Most interpreters also stated that they explain cultural differences either on a regular or occasional basis, and they explain the functioning of the institution in which they are working. A third of the respondents stated that this was done without the knowledge of the other party, which suggests that the interpreter operates her role through covert strategies, as mentioned by Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014). Other questions were asked with regard to omitting or summarising information, giving advice/ their opinion to the service user, clarifying misunderstandings, explaining non-verbal information, challenging racist views, and carrying out extra tasks (such as filling forms or phoning on behalf of the minority language speaker). Similarly to Mesa (2000) and Pöchhacker (2000)'s findings, the results demonstrate a very heterogeneous range of answers. For instance, some stated that they challenge racist views, whereas others omit to interpret racist comments. Some give advice to the minority language speakers, whereas others abstain. Based on these answers, it can be argued that the interpreters' perceptions of their role differ greatly, and they adopt different positionings, ranging from a conduit or mechanical approach to a facilitator of communication or an advocate. Unfortunately, the data gathered does not shed light on the reason why the interpreters surveyed perceived their role differently. It can be argued that the interpreters' perceptions of the variety of roles that they adopt within the same context reflects the users' many perceptions, which could explain, to some extent, the wide range of roles observed and described by scholars in the first part of this chapter.

However, Martin and Abril Martí (2008) claim that two factors need to be taken into account when analysing the above results. First, they distributed the questionnaires in medical settings. On the strength of the work of Wenger (1998), Mason argues that:

Discursive practices are seen as emanating from social institutions or “communities of practice” (Wenger, 1998), which play a part in shaping the perceptions, stance, behaviour and utterances of all those involved.
(Mason, 2009, p. 52)

It seems that the institution within which the interpreter works may shape to some extent the perception and the behaviour that she adopts. Although the interpreters that replied confirmed that they work in a wider range of institutions (and they were encouraged to reflect on the role of the public service interpreter in a broader sense), it may be possible that the medical environment where the questionnaires were given out may have exerted influence on the respondents’ perceptions.

The second factor that Martin and Abril Martí (2008) consider a variable in their study is the level of education. All respondents had studied a foreign language. However, the level of study varied from an undergraduate course to three respondents having a PhD. Also, it is worth highlighting that most respondents did not study a module on Translation and Interpreting as part of their university course. According to Martin and Abril Martí, the level of education may have influenced the interpreters’ perceptions of their role, from those who have a more formal understanding of their roles, grounded in an educational background, to those who take a more intuitive approach when they interpret.

When discussing factors that influence role perception, the institutionalised context and the training received are not the only factors that influence role perception. Merlini (2009, p. 111) claims that “interpreters are fully-fledged social actors, who may have different perceptions of their roles and different views on how to organise their participation in a mediated encounter.” The interpreter must be considered as a “fully-fledged social actor”. As such, her subjective perception of society in general, or of a more specific social interaction, may influence her role perception. It is therefore not surprising that even within the same institutional setting, an interpreter’s perception of her role may differ from other interpreters’, and that her perception is forged on factors such as education or training, but it

may also depend on the interpreter's personal experience or cultural acceptability, for instance.

3.3. The court interpreter's perception of her role

Studies focusing solely on the court interpreter's perception of her role are scarce. Angelelli (2003) carried out a study on role perceptions with conference, court and medical interpreters in the U.S.A, Canada and Mexico. She sent a questionnaire to which 293 participants responded (107 conference interpreters, 89 court interpreters, and 97 medical interpreters). She (2003, p. 26) claims that "to a greater or lesser extent, [interpreters] perceived that they played a role in building trust, facilitating mutual respect, communicating affect as well as message, explaining cultural gaps, controlling the communication flow and aligning with one of the parties interactions." Unlike in Martin and Abril Martí (2008)'s study, Angelelli manages to differentiate the opinions between conference, court and medical interpreters, and her study suggests that, regardless of the country or the context, interpreters, including court interpreters, perceive themselves as interactive participants. This corroborates the findings of Kinnunen (2010) who, based on Activity Theory, argues that there are contradictions and conflicting views between court participants regarding the court interpreter's role, but the interpreter has a certain margin of manoeuvre to act as an independent agent.

Gurthrie (1986, cited in Laster and Taylor, 1994, pp. 118-119) reports on a survey in which interpreting students and interpreters seeking national court interpreting accreditation took part. In this survey, the interpreters perceive their roles as:

- Language expert: interpreters stated that the "primary purpose of their work should be precision in language to facilitate the communication of ideas from one language to another";
- Aid to community professionals: the interpreter's role is to "assist lawyers and other professionals to provide services to [the minority language speaker]";
- Advocate for the [minority language speaker]: Laster and Taylor argue that "frequently there is an expectation that the interpreter will be an advocate, at least putting the client's case in the best possible light";

- Cultural Bridge: the interpreter does not interpret words but they will also “convey their cultural context.” (Laster & Taylor, 1994, pp. 118-119)

Interestingly, Laster and Taylor claim that the surveyed interpreters recognise that their main role is that of a conduit, and as such they perceive their primary function as that of a language expert. However, they acknowledge that other roles may be adopted within one court IME. They argue that adopting a conduit approach is perceived as a means to preserve their neutrality, and to avoid “unprofessional, unethical” behaviours (Laster & Taylor, 1994, p. 119). However, they state that the interpreters had to adopt other roles, given that “lawyers, judges and [minority language speaking] clients implicitly or explicitly demand that interpreters deviate from their role as conduits” (Laster & Taylor, 1994, p. 119). It is instructive to note in Gurthrie (1986)’s report that the interpreter departing from the conduit model is something apparently encouraged by legal professionals. Furthermore, the four roles perceived by the interpreters surveyed bear similarities with Hale (2008)’s five roles that were observed in court settings and analysed above. It is furthermore interesting to note that court interpreters perceive their role as advocates, language or cultural experts, and to some extent, as gatekeepers, as is reflected in Hale’s study. However, in Gurthrie (1986)’s study, interpreters did not perceive their roles as facilitator of communication (by editing the message conveyed to make it more accessible) or faithful renderer of the others’ utterances (by conveying the intended meaning). To a certain extent, this highlights the disparities between each court interpreter’s perception of her role and the roles that are observed in court settings.

Overall, the service provider and the interpreter perceive the interpreter’s role as multifaceted. Furthermore, within the same context, such as a court environment, the interpreter’s perceptions of her own role vary depending on the subjectivity of the respondents taking part in the study. Although there is a tendency to promote the court interpreter as a conduit, it has been demonstrated that she perceives that she adopts many other roles, which corroborates the findings based on role observations discussed above in Section 2. This reflects the fact that the court interpreter is an individual social actor, whose role perception may be influenced by factors such as her level of education, her experience or the other participants’ expectations.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the role of the interpreter has been defined within PSI settings. The first section reviewed the notion of role based on the work of various scholars in several PSI fields, and it is apparent that a multitude of role labels exist, some being quite similar to others, and others being diametrically opposed. It then focused more specifically on the role of the court interpreter, and it is also apparent that various labels are used to describe the court interpreter's role. These labels were then compared to the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* and the interpreter's oath taken in English courts, and it was argued that the code acknowledges, to some extent, some roles that emerge from scholarly work. Then it was claimed that the various roles can be adopted within the same IME, and alongside a continuum or through positioning. However, it was argued that research regarding the interpreter's role is quite descriptive and has sometimes lacked theoretical underpinning. For these reasons, Section 2 was dedicated to sociology and how this discipline, and more particularly the work of Goffman and Bourdieu, helps IS scholars draw on more robust theoretical constructs to explore the role of the interpreter. It was then posited that role-space is a fit-for-purpose theoretical framework as it encompasses the sociological findings on the interpreter's role, whilst steering away from labelling such roles. The last section focused on the perception of the interpreter's role, from the viewpoints of the interpreter's users and the interpreter herself. It was argued that, regardless of the country or the interpreting settings, users' and interpreters' perception on the role of the interpreter is multifaceted, and their expectations, as social actors, may differ.

These studies all occur within a face-to-face context, which is when all the parties are present in the same room. As was argued in Chapter 1, videoconference interpreting is an emerging field both in practice and in terms of research. As a result, the specificities arising from a VCI Interpreter-Mediated Event may further impact the definition of the interpreter's role(s). To analyse the impact of technologies, it has been argued by Hekkanen (2009) that the sociological paradigm Actor-Network Theory could be a useful one to examine the influence of technologies on the notion of roles, as it posits technologies as a fully-fledged actor amongst other participants. The next chapter will therefore discuss what

ANT entails, how it has been applied in Translation Studies, and how it could be applied to this study in order to explore the court interpreter's perception of her role in VCI.

Chapter 3: Actor-Network Theory as a sociological framework

According to Buzelin (2005, p. 198), Latour sets out the foundation of Actor-Network Theory in his seminal work, *Pasteur: guerre et paix des microbes* (1984), which was later translated, and published in English under the title *Pasteurization of France* (1988). In this monograph, Latour explores the role of Pasteurian scientists and hygienists in their national fight against microbes. Basing his research on articles published in three scientific reviews over a 50-year period, he retraces the associations made between various human and non-human actors, including the scientists, hygienists, and microbes. In doing so, Latour demonstrates that the actors' interactions create a network of associations in which humans and non-humans may influence each other's actions. Building on Latour's work, other ANT scholars analyse other networks that also involve non-human actors such as scallops (Callon, 1986) and military aircraft (Callon & Law, 1988).

Since then, scholars have used ANT to conduct research in various research fields, such as computer and information systems (Monteiro, 2000), engineering (Bowker & Kaghan, 2001), pedagogy (Tatnall & Wong, 2010), socio-material history (Nimmo, 2011), and tourism (Ren, 2011; van der Duim, 2007). To a lesser extent, ANT has been used in Translation Studies to examine the impact of technologies on the translation process and the translator's working environment (Hekkanen, 2009; Kung, 2009), and to my knowledge, no studies employ ANT to analyse the interaction between the interpreter and technologies.

This chapter will first aim to define ANT, as a theoretical framework, and it will examine how ANT differs from other sociological stances. Section 2 will then review the extent to which ANT has been applied in Translation Studies, and Section 3 will present in more depth one of ANT's concepts that will inform the analytical underpinning of the discussion in Chapter 6, namely *Translation*.

1. Actor-Network Theory

ANT enables researchers to trace the interaction between human and non-human entities in a socio-technical network (Ziemkendorf, 2007). However, as Dudhwala (2009) and Law (1999) argue, while ANT has been used in a variety of fields (as

mentioned above), the researchers differ in their interpretation of ANT. Therefore, this section will define first how ANT is to be understood within this thesis. The next sub-section will examine how ANT departs from other sociological paradigms, and then it will highlight the main criticisms voiced against ANT.

1.1 Defining Actor-Network Theory

Latour (1999, p. 15) ironically claims that “there are four things that do not work with actor-network theory; the word actor, the word network, the word theory and the hyphen!” Latour adds that this could be partly due to the polysemic features of these words and the researchers’ interpretations of what ANT comprises. The studies quoted in this chapter’s introduction demonstrate that ANT has been used in many interdisciplinary studies. However, they tend to lack clarity as to what constitute an actor, a network, and/or whether ANT is used as a methodology or a theoretical framework. For this reason, the meaning of each of these terms will be defined in this section in order to delimit as clearly as possible their interpretation in this thesis.

1.1.1 ‘Actor’ in Actor-Network Theory

Callon and Latour (1981, p. 186) define the term actor as “any element which (...) makes other elements dependent upon itself and translates their will into a language of its own.” Such a definition implies that an actor, in order to be considered as such, acts upon another entity in such a manner that it influences the relation between itself and the entity being acted upon. Within this definition, Callon (1999) highlights that any entity, whether humans, non-humans, or even unmaterialistic notions can be actors, to which Latour (2005, p. 71) adds that “*any thing* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor” (sic, italics in original). In other words, any element can be an actor as long as it modifies its relations with another entity. Furthermore, when identifying an actor, Callon (1999, p. 181) argues that “the actor’s size, its psychological make-up, and the motivations behind its actions (...) are [not] predetermined”, thus adding to the general nature of an actor.

In this thesis, the term ‘actor’ hereafter refers to any human or non-human entity that acts in such a manner that its action modifies other entities, and for which attributes cannot be predetermined. For instance, if the use of VC equipment

changes the interpreter's perception of her role, such a piece of equipment is to be considered an actor.

1.1.2 'Network' in Actor-Network Theory

Latour states that there exist two main misconceptions about the term 'network' in Actor-Network Theory. The first is that 'network' has been understood in its technical sense. He (1990, p. 2) claims that the interpretation of 'network' as being an "exclusively related yet very distant element with the circulation between nodes being made compulsory through a set of rigorous paths giving to a few nodes a strategic character" is erroneous. Indeed, such a definition raises two main concerns. Firstly, it implies that although elements within a network are related, they are separated by a physical distance. Secondly, the network possesses a given structure, in which elements must pass through predetermined and obligatory nodes, and they can only travel through a set path. As he explains, such a technical definition of network, borrowed from the field of engineering, has never been the intended meaning of 'network' in ANT.

The second misconception is that the term network has been understood as a social network that analyses social relations between individual human beings. In such instances, pieces of research focusing on individual human beings tend to be examined in contrast with more general concepts such as institutions, societies or even nations (Latour, 1996, p.2). However, such a definition is too restrictive as a network in ANT has the particularity that non-humans can also be part of a network, whether they are physical entities or unmaterialistic notions.

In order to move away from the above misconceptions, Monteiro (2000, p. 9), a researcher in Information Systems, defines a network as "the act linked together with all of its influencing factors (which again are linked), producing a network." Although rather general, this definition has the advantage on focusing on the notion of acting, which encompasses any action carried out by an actor. As such, an ANT network is a dynamic and organic structure, and it differs from an engineering or social network. A network is hereafter primarily defined in accordance with Monteiro's definition above. However, in order to expand on this, it will also include the fact that, as claimed by Latour (1990) above, in a network (1) the notion of physical distance and predetermination of paths is irrelevant, and

(2) any human or non-human elements can be actors within the network as they either act or are acted upon.

1.1.3 'Theory' in Actor-Network Theory

Scholars such as Dudhwala (2009) or Latour (1999) have debated whether ANT is a theory, as its name would suggest, or a methodology. In this context, Latour argues that ANT:

is a theory that says that by following circulations we can get more than by defining entities, essence or provinces. In that sense, ANT is merely one of the many anti-essentialist movements that seem to characterize the end of the century. But it is also, like ethnomethodology, simply a way for the social scientists to access sites, a method and not a theory, a way to travel from one spot to the next, from one field site to the next, not an interpretation of what actors do simply glossed in a different, more palatable and more universalist language. (Latour, 1999, p. 20)

Here, Latour acknowledges that ANT has a dual identity. He agrees with the fact that ANT can be understood as a theory in the sense that it is an anti-essentialist movement which denies that entities possess a predefined set of attributes that defines their actions. However, Latour (1999, p. 20) also argues that ANT does not provide an explanation as to why actors act in a certain way, but it is also “a very crude method to learn from the actors without imposing on them an *a priori* definition of their world-building capacities” (italics in original). In that sense, ANT can also be classified as a methodology since it advocates tracing actions carried out by actors within a network, without imposing any pre-determined characteristics³³.

The intending meaning of the term theory in ANT hereafter preserves this dual identity. ANT is to be understood as a theory in the sense that this thesis takes an anti-essentialist approach in which the actors' identities emerge. ANT is also to be used as a methodology, as no pre-determined characteristics are to be imposed on actors taking part in this study. Instead, this thesis traces the actors throughout the network that they build, and the analysis is to be based on the actors' own accounts and explanations.

³³ This chapter focuses on ANT as a theory. ANT as a methodology is discussed in Chapter 4.

1.1.4 The hyphen in Actor-Network Theory

Latour (1999) argues that even the use of the hyphen, which was not intended at first, but it was added by other sociologists, has also been fuelling controversies. Interestingly, scholars such as Monteiro (2000) and Nimmo (2011) have preserved the hyphen, whereas in their edited monograph, Law and Hassard (1999) do not include it.

According to Latour (1999) the use of the hyphen is reminiscent of the dichotomy between sociological debates regarding agency and structure, that is an individual vs. an institution, for instance. By adding the hyphen, he argues that it led some researchers to interpret ANT as a theory, whereby the actor takes part in a larger structure (that of a network). Such issues may arise from the fact that the researcher's understanding of this sociological paradigm may have been ill-defined as ANT advocates the absence of such dichotomies. Interestingly, research such as Monteiro (2000) and Nimmo (2011)'s studies hyphenate ANT without implying such a dichotomy. In order to remain coherent and in line with these ANT studies, the hyphen is hereafter retained in Actor-Network Theory, but it does not imply any dichotomy between agency/actor and structure/network.

Having defined Actor-Network Theory and how it is to be interpreted in this thesis, the next section will analyse how ANT departs from other sociological stances.

1.2 A split from classical sociology

Dudhwala (2009) claims that ANT differs from "classical" sociology as it rejects three main features: dichotomies, pre-determinacy, and other sociological theoretical frameworks. Each of these three features is succinctly presented below. This rejection of classical sociology forms is, from a theoretical viewpoint, a guiding thread throughout this chapter, and its underlying methodological implications are discussed in more depth in the next chapter.

Dudhwala (2009, p. 1) argues that ANT moves away from what she describes as "classical" sociology. By this, she is mainly referring to sociological approaches, such as Durkheim's, which focus on "the rigid distinctions (...) between the presupposed dichotomies of nature/society, macro/micro and object/human." When adopting an ANT approach, the researcher rejects such dichotomies that

are seen as not conducive to researching an individual's perspectives, whereby elements pertaining to nature/society, macro/micro levels, and/or object/human are in fact composed of many intertwined networks in which humans and non-human entities associate.

Latour (2005) also criticises classical sociology for its pre-determinacy, as he believes that it is a means to attribute social powers and context to actors even before such actors have been examined. ANT objects to any predetermined attributions, and it advocates tracing the actors through a network, which will reveal the associations created. Only then will actors' attributes emerge from the grounded research, which Latour (2005) calls the sociology of association.

Finally, although ANT used to reject any other sociological paradigms at first, Latour (2005) has been taking a more moderate approach to the ANT's initial position. He (2005, p.11) acknowledges that there is a need to differentiate between "classical" sociology that can be "not only reasonable but also indispensable, since it offers convenient shorthand to designate all the ingredients already *accepted* in the collective realm" (italics in original) and ANT that can trace new associations "in situations where innovations proliferate, where group boundaries are uncertain, when the range of entities to be taken into account fluctuates." In other words, and as Cooper (2008, p. 310) states, "classical" sociology can be useful to examine "stable situations", whereas ANT will be of more use in situations whereby negotiations, redefinitions of roles, and blurred boundaries occur. As such, ANT is seen as a more appropriate tool to examine organic and boundary-blurred situations, compared to "classical" sociology whereby the event under scrutiny may include more static and already-accepted-by-society elements.

It should be noted that this need to move away from "classical sociology" to examine the interaction between human and non-human entities is not unique to ANT. In the 1980s, another paradigm was interested in how human and artefacts were interacting. Human Computer Interaction (HCI) was developed as an interdisciplinary area that encompasses cognitive science and engineering, and its focus was primarily on assessing the computers' usability and the users' behaviour (Carroll, 2013). However, the advent of the internet and new devices

such as laptops and handhelds meant that “people were not interacting *with* computers, they were interacting with other people *through* computers” through email, social networks, and online fora (Italics in original, Carroll, 2013, pp. 13-15). This framework has evolved from examining human and computer interaction to analysing people’s interaction, at remote locations, through the medium of new technology. In the same vein, other approaches such as Double Dance of Agency (DDA) or Human-Machine Network (HMN)³⁴ also examine the interaction between humans and new technologies. However, what distinguishes these frameworks from ANT may reside in ANT’s *Translation* process which, as it will be discussed in more depth in Section 3 below, analyses how the actors’ role positions are negotiated within the network.

As mentioned earlier, this thesis examines court interpreters’ perceptions of their role when videoconferencing systems are used. Given the emphasis on technology, and the need to consider VC systems as fully-fledged actors, it was decided that ‘classical sociology’, such as Goffmanian or Bourdieusian³⁵ paradigms, may not be the most suited approaches as they maintain the human/object dichotomy (see Dudhwala (2009) above). Also keeping in mind this study’s focus on the court interpreters’ perceptions of their role which often require negotiation, and are characterised by the absence of a unified role definition³⁶, in a context for which boundaries are likely to be blurred by videoconference systems³⁷, it was decided that ANT would be a more appropriate framework than HCI or HMN, for instance, as its *Translation* process enables the researcher to examine the how role perceptions are formed and negotiated.

1.3 Main criticisms of ANT

Although ANT has been used in many research areas, it has encountered several criticisms from other sociological schools of thought. The aim of this sub-section is to assess the criticisms that are articulated around three main themes: radicalisation of non-human entities, blurred boundaries, and feasibility of task. It

³⁴ For more information on these approaches, see, for instance, J Rose and Jones (2005) and Engen, Pickering, and Walland (2016), respectively.

³⁵ See Section 2 below for a discussion on the use of Goffman and Bourdieu in TS.

³⁶ See Chapter 2

³⁷ See Chapter 1

will also demonstrate how safeguards can be put in place in order to overcome each of these criticisms.

Firstly, ANT's main critique is voiced against ANT's radicalisation of non-human entities in the actor's definition. As discussed in Section 1.1.1 above, any element can be considered an actor as long as it acts and/or modifies the other actors in a network. Dudhwala (2009, p. 5) argues that one of the main criticisms of ANT is that ANT researchers "emphasiz[e] the power of objects over humans." In other words, the influence or emphasis put on non-human actors by ANT researchers tends to be disproportionate to that given to humans, and ANT researchers may run the risk of "reduc[ing] human actors to mere objects" (Ziemkendorf, 2007, p. 11). However, as Latour states,

ANT is not the empty claim that objects do things 'instead' of human actors: it simply says that no science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored, even though it might mean letting elements in which, for lack of better terms, we would call *non-human*. (italics in original) (Latour, 2005, p. 72)

ANT's aim is not a means to attribute more power to non-human actors, but to ensure that all the actors that take part in a network are accounted for. As Dudhwala (2009, p. 5) argues, this stance is innovative as sociology tends to "presume *human* relations [are] primary in history" (italics in original). Not emphasizing the power of humans over objects enables the ANT researcher to observe how the relationship between humans and non-human elements intertwines. Indeed, a human actor may dictate how a non-human entity can act, but a non-human entity can also force the human actor to modify his behaviour.

A solution to help differentiate between human and non-human entities, and to move away from the issue of radicalisation may reside in defining the actors' agency. Within the context of Information Systems, Rose and Truex (2000) define non-human actors as possessing perceived agency that is attributed by the human actors. To some extent, this definition aligns with ANT's definition of actors as the actions executed by human actors will provide non-human actors with some agency. Engen et al. (2016) take the argument further by arguing that human actors can demonstrate intentionality, which is not the case for non-human actors. In this instance, although non-human entities are accounted for in a network as actors, they are differentiated from human actors as they do not perform actions

intentionally. However, the advent of technologies raises further challenges regarding non-human actors and intentionality, and it provides avenues for further research. For instance, captology and persuasive technology investigate “interactive technologies that attempts to change [a person’s] attitudes and behaviour in some way” (Fogg, 1998, p. 225), where technologies and intentionality may not be incompatible. Considering the type of technologies used in this study, which was described in Chapter 1, issues of radicalisation and non-human agency are limited to those where non-human actors possessing no interactive features are investigated. For this reason, it is not anticipated that agency will raise any concerns in this study as actors will be defined in ANT’s terms, which were discussed in Section 1.1.1 of this chapter. Nevertheless, this paves the way for avenues for further research so that ANT further defines non-human agency, in which the increasing use of interactive technologies and also the development of Artificial Intelligence are taken into account.

Secondly, ANT has been criticised as to whether it is a theory or a methodology. As Dudhwala (2009, p. 7) argues, “regardless of this insistence on being a method rather than a theory, the difference between methodology and theory is not so clear-cut, hence the terms are used interchangeably in most ANT texts.” As mentioned previously, ANT can be considered both as a theory and as a methodology, but controversies seem to stem from its interchangeable use in ANT-led studies. Monteiro (2000 para. 55) argues that ANT is in fact “a strategy of unpacking the complexity of everyday life.” For Monteiro, ANT can be considered a strategy that has theoretical and methodological implications to take into consideration. However, in order to avoid ambiguities, it can be posited that the onus is on the ANT researchers to delimit clearly the scope, the definitions, and their understanding of ANT as a theory and/or methodology in their study.

Finally, Latour (2005, p. 25) asserts that “travelling with ANT, I am afraid to say, will turn out to be agonizingly slow”, as the researcher needs to carefully trace all the actors in a network. However, the researcher also needs to trace mediators that may have an indirect influence on an actor in a network. In other words, the researcher must consider previous networks and their participants to understand how an actor’s previous experience, for instance, may have influenced their action. In this context, the feasibility of retracing the actor’s previous networks

could be questioned, especially as Harman (2009) claims that there is an infinite list of mediators to reach when following actors in a network. The feasibility that no stone should be left unturned, as Latour (2005) argues, is therefore questionable at best. However, it could also be argued that this limitation in fact offers avenues for further research, and although tracing previous networks may be impractical, the ANT researcher's study may still shed light on the actors' association and their networks.

ANT has sparked various debates and criticisms. Some shortfalls identified can be attributed to ambiguities residing within ANT, or with the studies' research designs. For these reasons, Section 1 delimited ANT's definition, and it analysed how ANT differentiates from other sociological schools of thought. It finally highlighted some shortcomings and safeguards to put into place in order to overcome what ANT's critics identified as shortcomings. The next section will examine how ANT has been used in Translation and Interpreting Studies.

2. Actor-Network Theory in Translation and Interpreting Studies

Chapter 2 of this thesis discusses the main sociological frameworks that have been applied by adopting a Bourdieusian or Goffmanian approach in Interpreting Studies. To my knowledge, no studies in IS have used ANT as a sociological framework and/or a methodology. However, although carried out more sporadically, some studies in TS have been conducted through the prism of ANT. The aim of this section is to describe and assess how the main cited studies have applied ANT as a framework in TS and to draw a hypothesis regarding its application in IS.

Buzelin (2005) argues that ANT has been applied to many research fields, which correlates with the various examples provided in the introduction to this chapter. However, she claims that at the time of writing, ANT had not previously been used in TS. Her study in 2005 is, in that regard, a seminal piece of work in which she adopts an ANT approach to study the work of literary translators in Canada. She argues that ANT "generates data that should enable us to get a better idea of who participates in the translation process, how they negotiate their position, and of how much and where translators, in practice, comply with or contest norms"

(Buzelin, 2005, p. 205). In her study, ANT, as a theoretical framework, sheds light onto how translators associate with other actors in order to form a network.

Since then, a limited number of TS scholars have used ANT to conduct research in TS. Abdallah (2012) examines the translators as forming part of production networks. She takes an ANT approach to scrutinise the role and the definition of agency, quality, and ethics in those networks. Similarly, Córdoba Serrano (2007) and Tahir-Gürçağlar (2007) map the various actors that take part in literary translation networks in Spain and Turkey respectively, which include translators, authors, publishers, editors, readers, governments, and institutions. Building on the notion of network, McDonough (2007)'s study demonstrates that translation networks can be divided into the following four categories: professional-, practice-, education-, and research-oriented networks.

Further to mapping actors, Kung (2009) also calls upon ANT to examine the tensions in translator-led vs. subvention networks³⁸ when translating and exporting Taiwanese literature. She argues that "ANT provides a useful framework for examination of production as a process of negotiation and tension between actors. (...). Most importantly, it asks how various agents with different social power interact with each other and develop the networks" (Kung, 2009, p. 126). In this study, the focus is on the translation process; more specifically on the actors' interrelations within a network, and how positions in the network are negotiated. Similarly, Hekkanen (2009) applies ANT in literary translation by examining how networks between authors, publishing houses and translators are created. She argues that "ANT would probably be particularly well-suited to research in areas where technological aspects, such as tools, materials or software, play a significant role" (Hekkanen, 2009, p. 19). Interestingly, Hekkanen specifically highlights the benefits of ANT when examining the use of technologies within the translation industry, but the extent to which these benefits feed into her research is unclear.

³⁸ Kung here makes the distinction between translator-led networks, in which translators decide to translate *pro bono* a particular piece of literature, and subvention networks, in which public organisations or companies remunerate a translator for translating a piece of literary work.

The ANT studies mentioned above in TS tend to examine actors, either institutions or humans, in networks formed within the field of literary translation. To a certain extent, technologies do not seem to play a predominant role in their studies. Based on Hekkanen's work, it appears that conducting research in TS through the prism of ANT, with a particular focus on technologies, is a rather new avenue for research in TS. As technologies form an integral part of this thesis, and an ANT approach enables the researcher to consider VC equipment as an actor, it is hypothesised that ANT is the most appropriate framework for this study.

Complementing ANT with another sociological approach in TS has been discussed by Buzelin (2005), and it is interesting to note that all the studies using ANT in TS mentioned above rely on additional theoretical frameworks, based mainly on Bourdieu's work. For instance, Hekkanen (2009, p. 1) couples ANT with the concept of *habitus* as she claims that this "model provides better opportunities for analysing individual translators' practices." Kung (2009, p. 123) also relies on Bourdieu, and more particularly on the notion of capital in order to explore what influences the actors in her network. Therefore, taking into account the benefits of role-space discussed in Chapter 2, this study will combine ANT and role-space as its theoretical framework in order to analyse the court interpreter's perception of her role in VCI.

Overall, then, studies using an ANT approach in TS establish a map of the various actors in their network, and the negotiations and tensions that the interactions between the various actors create. When examining such negotiations and tensions in translation networks, Hekkanen states that the ANT concept of *Translation*³⁹ is of particular use, and she argues that:

the ANT conceptual framework makes significant use of the interestingly-named concept of 'translation', a process through which an actor transforms its own interests into ideas relevant to other actors with the aim of furthering its own interests in the network. (Hekkanen, 2009, pp. 8-9)

Building on the association created by the actors in a network, the concept of *Translation* sheds more light on translators' influence in a network by examining

³⁹ As already mentioned, in this thesis, translation will refer to the act of translating from one language into another, whereas *Translation* will be understood as the act of intersement that is anchored in ANT and defined in more depth in Section 3 below.

how they transform their ideas, opinions, beliefs, etc. to interest the other actors and rally them on the translators' side. As discussed in Chapter 2, studies in TS have explored the interpreter's role, mainly through a Bourdieusian prism. However, Hekkanen suggests that *Translation* could be another construct to use in order to explore the interpreter's position in a network that involves technologies.

To conclude, this section has highlighted that ANT has been used only sporadically but to an extent, successfully in TS. However, studies focus on literary translators, and the use of ANT in IS remains unexplored. Furthermore, ANT is often used in TS as a complementary framework that has been coupled with other sociological paradigms. It is worth noting that this combined approach is often a means to overcome ANT's shortcomings and criticisms discussed in Section 1 above. Therefore, this section has posited that combining ANT and role-space was a fit-for-purpose theoretical approach to examine the court interpreter's perception of her role in VCI. Finally, it appears that the concept of *Translation* enables the researcher to examine the tensions and negotiations between actors in a network. However, this concept remains rather unknown in TS, as studies focus mainly on identifying the actors in a translation network. For this reason, the next section will examine *Translation* in more depth.

3. The concept of *Translation*

Callon (1986) refers to *Translation* as a sociological construct anchored within the sociology of Association. This construct enables the researcher to analyse how a network "get[s] formed and transformed through negotiations, conflicts, controversies, etc." (Folaron & Buzelin, 2007, p. 616), and more specifically how actors can impose their wills, thoughts or beliefs onto the other actors in the network. This concurs with Dankert (2016, para. 14)'s definition, in which he argues that the main emphasis is put on examining "all the negotiations, intrigues, calculations, acts of persuasion, and violence through which an [actor] is changed". Furthermore, according to Crawford (2004), *Translation* refers to the process during which identities are attributed to actors, and it defines the actors' interaction parameters. Similarly, Williams-Jones and Graham (2003, p. 275)

define this process as the “glue” that binds together what would usually be independent actors. In other words, *Translation* is the process that analyses how a network is formed through independent actors and in which some actors will impose their wills or perceptions onto the others.

As with ANT, *Translation* has been applied in various fields in order to examine how knowledge exchange occurs in Higher Education (Smith, Rose, & Hamilton, 2010), why the introduction of computerised baggage handling in Denver International Airport was unsuccessful (Magnus, Holmström, Keil, & Montealegre, 2004), and how the use of a videoconference system was first promoted to conduct court hearings in France (Dumoulin & Licoppe, 2010), for instance. Such studies are noteworthy for illustrating the influence that non-human actors and technologies can have in shaping actor-networks, and the tensions and negotiations that arise from the interactions between the actors.

This section will first provide some contextual information on Callon (1986)’s seminal study on *Translation*. As *Translation* occurs in four phases (problematization, interessement, enrolment, and mobilisation), each phase will be then examined in more detail in the following sub-sections.

3.1. Background

Callon (1986)’s study follows three oceanographic researchers who were carrying work in the seaside town of St Brieuc in France. This town was famous for its scallops, the *Pecten Maximus*, but its crustacean population had been continually falling. The three researchers wanted to understand this phenomenon, and repopulate the town’s stock of scallops. Their rationale was threefold. First, there were economic factors involved as a large part of the local fishing industry depended on its scallop population. The second argument was that there appeared to be a lack of scientific knowledge regarding St Brieuc scallops. The scallop population was declining, as scallops’ larvae were no longer anchoring onto the reef. Scientists knew larvae had to first anchor, and then mature to become scallops. However, they did not know how scallops anchored, and why they anchored in some areas rather than others. Finally, the use of technology to repopulate the species played a key part in their research. The three researchers knew of another variety of scallops in Japan, which anchored itself during their

larvae state onto man-made anchorage devices. However, no-one knew whether the scallops of St Brieuc would also anchor onto similar/adapted man-made devices in order to help repopulate the scallop population. To address these financial, scientific, and technological questions, Callon (1986, p. 4) study aims to “show that one can question society at the same time as the actors and explain how they define their respective identities, their mutual margins of manoeuvre and the range of choices which are open to them.” Therefore, Callon examines how the three scientific researchers established their network and associated with the scientific community, the fishermen, and the scallops themselves.

3.2. The four *Translation* phases

In his study Callon (1986) divides *Translation*, also sometimes referred to as *domestication*, into the following four phases: problematization, interessement, enrolment, and mobilisation⁴⁰. The four phases will now be defined in more depth.

3.2.1. Problematization

Callon divides problematization, the first phase of *Translation*, into two parts. First, the *primum movens*, that is the main actor(s) in the network, will “determin[e] a set of actors and defin[e] their identities in such a way as to establish themselves as an obligatory passage point in the network of relationships they were building” (Callon, 1986, p. 6). To determine and define the actors, Callon analyses the reports that the three researchers wrote, in which they identified three actors: the scallops, the researchers’ scientific colleagues, and the fishermen. On the basis of these reports, Callon claims that the three researchers attributed the other actors with an identity that is summarised as:

- The scallops of St Brieuc: this species, *Pecten Maximus*, had been observed only as adults, and not in their larvae form. They corralled six months a year (when consumers could eat them), and the three researchers’ hypothesis was that they could also anchor onto a man-made device.

- The scientific colleagues: they lacked knowledge about scallops’ anchorage, and more specifically about those in St Brieuc. These colleagues were

⁴⁰ Callon (1986) was first published in French. The four *Translation* phases were initially called *problématisation*, *interessement*, *enrôlement*, and *mobilisation des alliés*.

identified as delegates/participants in conferences on relevant themes, or as scientists who studied scallops. The scientific colleagues' aim was to enhance knowledge about scallops' anchorage.

-The fishermen of St Brieuc: they were concerned as the stock of scallops was in decline. If they continued with their intensive fishing, the *Pecten Maximus* would be extinct. They supported the three researchers' study since they perceived it as a means to repopulate the stock.

After identifying the various actors, the three researchers had to impose themselves as Obligatory Passage Points (*point de passage obligé*, i.e. the *primum movens* define themselves in such a manner that they become indispensable to the network to complete the problematization phase). To do so, the three researchers convinced the actors that their research was of interest to all of them. Callon explains that the three researchers proceeded as follows:

The argument which [the three researchers] develop in their paper is constantly repeated: if the scallops want to survive (no matter what mechanisms explain this impulse), if their scientific colleagues hope to advance knowledge on this subject (whatever their motivation may be), if the fishermen hope to preserve their long[-term] economic interests (whatever their reasons), then they must: 1) know the answer to the question: how do scallops anchor?, and 2) recognize that their alliance around this question can benefit each of them. (Callon, 1986, p. 8)

By arguing the importance of their research in order to ensure that scallops would survive, which would in turn preserve the fishermen's income whilst adding to scientific knowledge, the three researchers manage to define themselves as Obligatory Passage Points (OPP).

Overall, problematization is the first step towards conceiving a network. The *primum movens* assess the other actors by defining them, and giving them attributes towards their identity. They will then have to define themselves as an OPP so that the next *Translation* phase can take place.

3.2.2. Interessement

Once the actors are defined, and the OPP is established, the next *Translation* phase is interessement. In this phase, Callon argues that:

Each entity enlisted by the problematization can submit to being integrated into the initial plan, or inversely, refuse the transaction by defining its identity, its goals, projects, orientations, motivations, or interests in another manner. (...) They are formed and are adjusted only during action. (Callon, 1986, p. 8)

Actors can decide whether to side with the *primum movens* or not. The intersement phase illustrates the various internal struggles taking place within the network in conception. As Callon (1986, p. 8) further argues, intersement is “the group of actions by which an entity attempts and stabilize the identity of the other actors it defines through its problematization.” However, attempts to stabilise actors in a network are not made solely by the *primum movens*. In a network, other entities and actors can try to interest them, which creates intra-network struggles between actors. Therefore, in order to stabilise the network, Callon claims that the *primum movens* will deploy various intersement devices. In his study, he lists some devices such as seduction, solicitation, and physical force. Putting them into practice, Callon’s three researchers used various intersement devices to interest the scallops, the scientific community, and the fishermen. For instance, Callon argues that they relied on force by physically segregating the scallops from other actors as they entered the man-made collectors, thus protecting them from predators. They also solicited interest from the fishermen and their scientific colleagues by holding meetings, conferences, and through publications. During the meetings with the fishermen, the three researchers showed them diagrams to illustrate how the man-made devices worked to restore the scallop population in Japan, and they focused mainly on the excellent results obtained by the Japanese researchers, using very positive and endearing lexis during their presentations. To further their interests, the three researchers solicited their scientific colleagues differently. They based their solicitation on scientific facts through an “exhaustive literature review”, and they focused more on the “increasing economic importance” and on environmental impacts, as the “survival of a species (...) [was] at stake” (Callon, 1986, p. 10). Their presentations were more scientific, and they ensured that research impact could be both quantified and qualified.

All in all, then, the intersement phase occurs by deploying intersement devices through different written or oral media. During this phase, the *primum*

movens can use various devices in order to ensure other actors side with them. Once actors are interested, the enrolment phase will begin.

3.2.3. Enrolment

The phase of enrolment is defined by Callon as follows:

Enrolment does not imply, nor does it exclude, pre-established roles. It designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them. (...) To describe enrolment is thus to describe the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the intersements and enable them to succeed. (Callon, 1986, p. 10)

Once the three researchers managed to interest the actors that they had identified during the problematization phase, further negotiations still had to take place.

First, the scientists interested the scallops by replicating the Japanese anchorage device hanging from towlines. Although it was a means to protect them physically from predators, they had to negotiate the depth at which the device had to be placed, where to place it in terms of currents, and what type of material to use to build this device. Only then were the scallops enrolled. The three researchers also had to negotiate with their scientific colleagues. The task was deemed rather straightforward in the sense that their colleagues agreed on the need to save the scallop population during the intersement phase. However, the scientific community requested that the three researchers acknowledge further research that had been previously carried out in this field. Finally, no negotiating was needed with the fishermen. Consequently, Callon argues that the intersement and enrolment phases had occurred simultaneously for this group of actors.

Enrolment is another phase of tension and negotiations between the actors. Although the *primum movens* deploys some devices to interest the actors in the previous phase, this does not imply that actors will accept the intersement devices as they stand. During enrolment, further negotiations between the *primum movens* and the actors may take place, which, in fact, could redefine the outcomes of the problematization and intersement phases.

3.2.4. Mobilisation

The three researchers' project only involved some members of the scallops, fishermen, and scientific populations through the phases of intersement and

enrolment. During the last *Translation* phase Callon (1986, p. 13) raises the issue of representativeness, that is: “will the masses (employers, workers, scallops) follow their representatives?”. In other words, to what extent do the actors present in the network represent the whole community? Can the representatives convince the community that they represent that they should be mobilised? The fishermen’s representatives were elected through trade union membership. As such, they were considered as representing the whole community of fishermen. The scientists who voluntarily took part in the thematic conference where the three researchers presented were nominated, by the three researchers, as representatives of the scientific community. Finally, Callon argues that amongst all of the scallops present on the St Brieuc Bay, only a certain number of scallops decided to anchor to the device, and as such, they became representatives of the scallop community.

The scientific and fishermen representatives automatically became spokespeople for the communities that they represented. However, the scallops, as non-human entities, were only representatives of the scallops’ community. Callon argues that as scallops cannot speak for themselves, but as they anchored to the three researchers’ device, “the three researchers are authorised to speak legitimately for the scallops of St Brieuc Bay” (Callon, 1986, p.13). Interestingly, in such a situation, the *primum movens* became the spokespeople for the non-human entity.

Another key principle during the mobilisation phase is the notion of displacement. Callon argues that:

At first, the scallops, fishermen, and specialists were actually all dispersed and not easily accessible. At the end, three researchers at Brest said what the entities are and want. Through the designation of the successive spokesmen and the settlement of a series of equivalencies, all the actors are first displaced and then reassembled at a certain place at a particular time. (Callon, 1986, p. 14)

Not all the actors in a network may be physically present in the same place, and therefore some will have to be displaced. To illustrate such displacement, Callon (1986: p.15) states that:

A handful of researchers discuss a few diagrams and a few tables with numbers in a closed room. But these discussions commit uncountable populations of silent actors: scallops, fishermen, and specialists who are all

represented at Brest by a few spokesmen. These diverse populations have been mobilized. That is, they have been displaced from their homes to a conference room. (Callon, 1986, p. 15)

In order for scallops to be displaced during scientific conferences, they first had to go through a series of transformations. Scallops were first counted, and their number was turned into graphics and tables so that they could be displaced and represented when the three researchers were presenting at conferences (Callon, 1986, p. 14). In the same manner, scientists were displaced when the three researchers presented scientific facts to the fishermen, and fishermen were displaced when the three researchers presented the fishermen's fishing techniques during their conferences. During this phase, the *primum movens* is responsible for displacing and reassembling the other actors in the network.

Mobilisation is therefore the phase whereby the actors are defined as representatives for their collective, and they can be presented to other actors in another location through displacement.

3.2.5. Controversies according to ANT

As actors are organic, the *Translation* process may not be hurdle-free. As Callon (1986, p. 15) claims, "consensus and the alliances which it implied can be contested at any moment. Translation becomes treason." In other words, a network may be redefined or fail at any point within the *Translation* process.

Furthermore, Callon (1986, p. 15) argues that "if consensus [in terms of the representativity of the spokesmen] is achieved, the margins of manoeuvre of each entity will be tightly delimited". The risk for the network to fail during the first year was very limited as in the three researchers' study the scallops anchored on the device created by the researchers, and fishermen and scientific colleagues did not contest the results of the three researchers.

During the second year of the study, the scallops chose not to anchor onto the man-made collectors. Some fishermen also fished the scallops that anchored the previous year without consulting their representatives. Consequently, both the scallops and fishermen's representatives were betrayed. Callon (1986, p15) refers to such events as a "controversy" whereby "the representativity of the spokesman is questioned, discussed, negotiated, rejected, etc." In this instance, *Translation*

had to occur again. The three researchers had to modify their device of *interessement* so that scallops would anchor again. They also had to educate the fishermen, and other representatives were appointed to ensure that some fishermen would not fish the anchored scallops. Only then was the network stabilised.

Mobilisation illustrates that a network is not a static structure. On the contrary, it possesses an organic dimension, which is articulated around representatives and their robustness in representing their community as a whole. Should a member of a collective decide to betray the others, the network then needs to re-adjust, and some or all of the *Translation* phases need to occur again. Once mobilisation is successfully completed, the network may stabilise. In other words, it may become irreversible and durable. To become stable, inscriptions are essential. Heeks (2013, p. 5) states that inscriptions are material objects “in which particular processes, interests, identities, values, etc. become written into (and) embedded into.” For instance, an inscription can be “a document that records the membership or rules of the networks” (Heeks, 2013, p. 5), which can then be displaced and used in another network in which *Translation* is taking place. In this thesis, it can be argued that a code of conduct regulating the interpreting profession⁴¹ can be considered as an inscription as it records what is expected from the interpreter during an IME.

Overall, then, Callon divides *Translation* into four main phases: problematization, *interessement*, enrolment, and mobilisation. This approach allows him to demonstrate that Nature and Society may be studied at the same type and through the same prism. Furthermore, he illustrates how the *primum movens* defined the other actors (namely, their scientific colleagues, the fishermen, and the scallops), how they imposed themselves as Obligatory Passage Points, and how they interested and enrolled the actors. Finally, Callon reveals how the three researchers failed to mobilise all the actors at first, as representativeness within the fishermen and scallops was challenged and rejected. However, through further *Translation* the network was stabilised. In that sense, Callon’s study illustrates power struggles and negotiations within networks, and how organic and fragile

⁴¹ See Chapter 2.

their structures may be. As the interpreter's role is subject to negotiations, rejections, etc., *Translation* will therefore help shed light on such tensions when the court interpreter works in VCI.

4. Conclusion

Actor-Network Theory has gained popularity since the 1980s, and it has been widely used in various research fields. Such a success is partly due to its approach that departs from other "classical" trends in Sociology. By examining humans and non-human entities through the same lens, ANT offers an alternative research paradigm that caters for technological developments, which are increasingly shaping translation and interpreting modes.

Whilst ANT has been widely used, this chapter has argued that ANT has been interpreted in different ways, with different interpretations arising with regard to the meaning of actor, network, and theory. Various criticisms have also been addressed concerning the radicalisation of non-human entities, and they raised questions with regard to the lack of clear boundaries and the rationale behind the rejection of other theories. Although Latour (1999, 2005) sheds light on these concerns, this chapter has acknowledged that the issue of feasibility is still to be addressed. Consequently, the ANT researcher must concede that not all the intermediaries between all the actors in a network can be scrutinized, and as such, intermediaries delimit the scope of their research, and pave the way to avenues for further research.

Building on ANT, Callon (1986) studies the power relations in networks through the prism of *Translation*, which he divides into four phases: problematization (when the *primum movens* identify the other actors, and impose themselves as Obligatory Passage Points), interessement (whereby the *primum movens* develop devices to attract the other actors), enrolment (when negotiations occur in order to enlist the other actors), and mobilisation (the last *Translation* phase during which the *primum movens* must ensure that the other actors are strong representatives of the group that they are supposed to represent).

It was noted with interest that scholars in Translation Studies have also used ANT, but that such studies are quite sporadic, and are confined mainly to literary translation. TS scholars focus on networks at the macro-level, and the use of

technologies and *Translation* remains largely unexplored in Translation and Interpreting Studies.

The aims of this thesis are to analyse how court interpreters perceive their roles in videoconference interpreting, and what margins of manoeuvre and choices they have when negotiating their roles with other court actors. As per Callon's study, this thesis is also articulated around the axes of economics, knowledge, and technologies. Indeed, this study has economic implications, as videoconference systems are a means to reduce costs in the legal sphere⁴². Furthermore, as was demonstrated in Chapter 2, many scholars in face-to-face contexts have discussed the role of the interpreter. However, the research is much scarcer when scrutinizing the question of role in videoconference interpreting in court settings. This study will therefore endeavour to enhance knowledge in IS. Finally, as discussed in the literature review in Chapter 1, studies have been looking at the use of technologies in various settings such as conference and business interpreting. Research in PSI settings has also unearthed various paradigms, but the impact that technologies have on the court interpreter's perception of their role remains largely unexplored. To this end, this piece of research will accompany court interpreters in their recollection of videoconference court interpreting events through interviews. Having discussed ANT from a theoretical stance, the next chapter will discuss how this study is conducted through an ANT methodological viewpoint, and it will present its research design.

⁴² See Chapter 1.

Chapter 4: Actor-Network Theory as a methodology - discussion of ANT's theoretical underpinnings and methodological implications

According to Cordella and Shaikh (2006), Actor-Network Theory (ANT) has often been used as a theoretical framework to conduct research into Information Systems. However, these scholars argue that the methodological approaches used in this discipline tend to disregard ANT's particular ontological and epistemological stances. Indeed, they assert that researchers in their field have conducted studies within the realm of interpretivism or constructivism, which conflicted with ANT's ontology of realistic realism and relativist epistemology. To a certain extent, parallels can be drawn with ANT research in Translation Studies (TS). In TS, research which is underpinned by ANT as a theory does not clearly refer to the methodological approach taken (e.g. Hekkanen, 2009; Kung, 2009). Others acknowledge that a mixed methodology was adopted, but they do not examine the ontological and epistemological consequences that such a mixed approach can have, or the extent to which their different methodologies are compatible (e.g. Abdallah, 2012).

As ontology, epistemology, and methodology form the cornerstone of empirical research design (Franklin, 2013; Krauss, 2005), this chapter aims first of all to discuss the theoretical underpinnings of ANT's ontology and epistemology that lay the foundation for the methodology adopted in this thesis. The second part explains the rationale for selecting a particular qualitative approach taken, and the way in which interviews are to be conducted within an ANT framework. Finally, the third section focuses on the research design, and more specifically on recruiting the participants, operationalising the theoretical frameworks, the interview medium, the type of transcription used, and the participants' profiles.

1. Actor-Network Theory as a methodology

As discussed in Chapter 3, Latour (2005) argues that ANT differs from other sociological paradigms as it examines the interaction between actors within a network in which no pre-determined attributes or characteristics are given. As a consequence, contexts, relations, and social powers will not be pre-defined. Instead, ANT advocates tracing the actors through the networks that they create,

and examining how they associate. Only then can the actors' attributes and characteristics emerge from the fieldwork.

In order to analyse ANT's methodology in more depth, this section examines how ANT's ontological and epistemological stances enable the researcher to analyse heterogeneous entities in a context in which technologies play a vital part, thereby investigating what difficulties arise when these entities include human and non-human actors, and how ANT's three core tenets enable the research to overcome such difficulties.

1.1. An "Out there" ontology and a "follow the actor" epistemology

According to Krauss (2005), ontology is defined as the philosophical study of reality, while epistemology is the philosophy of knowledge. In other words, ontology focuses on how participants' reality is created, while epistemology examines how such knowledge of reality may be known by the researcher (Healy & Perry, 2000).

With regard to ontology, ANT is anchored within realistic realism (Latour, 1999; Stalder, 2000), which argues that reality is not created by the researcher analysing the data, as an interpretivist stance would argue, but that "ANT considers reality to be 'emerging out there'" (Cordella & Shaikh, 2006, p. 17). In other words, reality stems from the interplay created between the interaction of various human and non-human (natural or material) actors in a network. Building on this, Bonner (2013, p. 112) states that "the world 'out there' and the pieces of it that we wish to understand are the product of diverse past actions and associations that come together, over time, to produce the present." Actors' present reality is the result of the various interplays in which they engaged in the past. Therefore, in order to understand actors in a network, one has also to consider the networks previously created that led to the interplay under scrutiny.

In such networks, the principle of human and non-human agency is at the core of ANT's ontology. Non-human entities form part of the reality. However, this can only occur when they are interacting in a network, and as Callon and Law (1995) argue, non-human agency is emerging and is construed as resulting from the relations created between human and non-human actors. Such a focus on actions frames ANT's ontology as process-oriented, and it relies on unpredictability and

interdependency (Buzelin, 2005). First, researchers must examine what actions were undertaken and accumulated by the various actors so that their reality would come to life (Buzelin, 2005, p. 196). The second ontological claim relates to “the possibility, or rather the impossibility, of making predictions about the way artefacts are produced, altered and transformed, and a fortiori about actors’ behaviours” (Buzelin, 2005, p. 196). As a consequence, no hypothesis, assumption, or predictions can be made with regard to actors’ reality. Finally, actors are interdependent and they “have to create their own space by a concomitant process of network formation” (Buzelin, 2005, p. 197). As such, actors do not have a pre-defined space attributed within a hierarchical structure, but an actor will, or will not, be attributed a space through the creation of a network.

With regard to epistemology, ANT is relativist in essence (Whittle & Spicer, 2008) in the sense that what constitutes knowledge is not universal, and actors’ “multivocality” needs to be acknowledged (Law, 1991, pp. 5-6). In order to unravel the actors’ knowledge of their reality, Bonner (2013, p. 112) states that ANT’s epistemology “requires identifying and following those actually involved in [the network’s] creation”. Such an approach has been argued at length by Latour (2005), and Bonner (2013) and Law (1999) concur that the actors’ knowledge becomes apparent only when the researcher does not interfere but leaves the actors to define their own social world. Finally, knowledge emerges from a “flat” landscape that is not divided between hierarchical macro vs. micro-structures (Callon & Latour, 1981). In ANT terms, a hierarchical macro-structure is based on an infinite number of local networks that were built before the network under scrutiny. In that context, the actors in a network will be equipped with experience acquired in these previous networks. Indeed, Latour (2005, p. 166) argues that “any given interaction seems to *overflow* with elements which are already in the situation coming from some other *time*, some other *place*, and generated by some other *agency*” (italics in original). Taking this epistemological stance enables the researcher to analyse structures, which, at first glance, appear highly hierarchical by acknowledging that a hierarchy is based on various local networks and in which actors may have gained experience. As far as this thesis is concerned, it could be argued that the English court system can be considered as highly hierarchical.

Therefore, the hierarchy in court will be considered as the combination of multiple prior networks to which the actors present in the network during the VCI hearing may have been exposed⁴³.

In such a landscape, Latour (2005, p. 29) describes the starting point when conducting ANT research as follows: “we follow the actors’ own ways and begin our travels by the traces left behind their activity of forming and dismantling groups”. So knowledge results from following the actors and their actions, and from examining how they interact with other actors in the network.

1.2. Studying human and non-human actors concurrently

Taking into account ANT’s ontology and epistemology as discussed above, Callon (1986) argues that there are three main difficulties when trying to explain phenomena where human and non-human entities interact. First, the style used by researchers traditionally tends to censor the actors’ reality by not reporting the actors’ social world in the actors’ terms. Instead, researchers re-interpret the actors’ contribution using their predefined terminology. Secondly, researchers tend to take an asymmetrical theoretical approach in their studies as they use different sociological explanations, depending on whether they are examining human or non-human entities. Finally, Callon criticises methodologies in qualitative studies where technologies and humans interact as they do not clearly define the actors’ identities and positions. In order to overcome such difficulties, Callon’s three core tenets are to be adopted when carrying out research: agnosticism, symmetry, and free association.

Firstly, the ANT researcher needs to abide by the tenet of agnosticism. Callon argues that the researcher needs to take an agnostic approach whereby the researcher remains impartial, and does not censor the actors. The researcher cannot pass any judgement onto the actor’s perception of society (Callon, 1986, pp. 3-4). Furthermore, researchers must take a neutral stance when gathering and analysing the data, and their perception of society should not colour the actors’ reality. The question of the researcher as an impartial element in qualitative research has been debated for many years by scholars, and they argue that

⁴³ The impact of the participants’ experience in previous networks is discussed in more depth in Section 1.2 of Chapter 7.

preconceptions and subjectivity form an integral part of research (e.g. Lester, 1999; Plummer, 1983; Stanley, 2002). However, in ANT studies, impartiality and non-censorship refer to the researcher's attitude towards the various types of actors, and the tendency to split them into pre-determined categories. ANT researchers must give the same consideration to any of the actors, whether they are human or non-human. It also precludes researchers from passing any judgement on the actor's reality in terms of the validity or truthfulness of the actors' contributions, for instance.

The second tenet is based on symmetry applied to all actors. According to Callon,

We know that the ingredients of controversies are a mixture of considerations concerning both Society and Nature. For this reason, we require the observer to use a single repertoire when they are described. (Callon, 1986, p. 3)

Callon argues that the same mode of analysis should be applied to any object observed, whether it be human or non-human actors. To do so, researchers must use the same terms (or repertoire) to analyse all the actors. When choosing which terms to use to carry out ANT studies, Latour (2005, pp. 29-30) states that "I find it best to use the most general, the most banal, even the most vulgar repertoire so that there will be no risk of confusing the actors' own prolific idioms." In ANT terms, this is what constitutes the research infralanguage. He further argues:

We have to resist the idea that there exists somewhere a dictionary where all the variegated words of the actors can be translated into the few words of the social vocabulary. (Latour, 2005, p. 48)

By using an infralanguage based on the actor's own repertoire, the risk of confusing the actors' voice and the researcher's interpretation is confined. Such a symmetrical approach in terms of repertoire also aligns with the agnostic tenet, as this diminishes the risk of censoring actors. Furthermore, Kärholm highlights that the use of infralanguage is particularly useful when the field of research "has been much fragmented, causing some confusion and also a lot of mix-up of definitions" (Kärholm, 2012, p. 10). Although Kärholm (2012)'s study focuses on architecture and public space, his argument can be extended to IS. Indeed, the discourse on the interpreter's role is also fragmented. As discussed in Chapter 2, many labels have been created to describe the interpreter's role, and for which the lack of clear role limitations can lead to further confusion.

The third tenet by which ANT researchers must abide is free association. Callon (1986) argues that when carrying out field work, the researcher should not predefine or anticipate the actors taking part in the network, but that actors should freely associate with others. Therefore, instead of pre-defining attributes or roles to the actors, which could lead to distorting or omitting some of the actors' characteristics and, as a consequence, blurring their identities, the ANT researcher must follow the actors by observing with whom they associate, and how they do so.

This project is based on ANT's ontological stance that human (such as judges, barristers, defendants, etc.) and non-human actors (e.g.: microphones, screens, cameras, etc.) form part of the court interpreters' reality, which becomes visible when examining the actions (or non-actions) undertaken by the court interpreters. Such actions are unpredictable, and they create interdependent networks. From an epistemological viewpoint, the participating court interpreters may be multivocal, and knowledge of their realities is accessible by following the court interpreters' personal accounts of their experience whilst interpreting in VCI. In order to avoid the three difficulties mentioned by Callon above (censorship, asymmetry, and pre-defined identities in methodologies), any human and non-human entities are considered fully-fledged actors, and no judgement is passed on the court interpreters' validity or the truthfulness of their accounts. Furthermore, in terms of infralanguage, the same repertoire is used when conducting the interviews and analysing the data. Finally, although some themes will be covered during the interviews through the use of interview pointers (discussed in 3.2 below), the court interpreters will not be attributed any characteristics before the interviews, and their role will not be predetermined. Instead, their free association with the other human and non-human actors that they identify in their accounts will define how they perceive their role.

Having established the ontological and epistemological stance for this research project in this section, the next section discusses how interviews were designed to be conducted within an ANT framework.

2. Conducting interviews as qualitative research

McNeill and Chapman (2005, p. 19) state that “if we want to explain social actions, we have first to understand them in the way that the participants do. We must learn to see the world from their standpoint.” To do so, various tools are available for the researcher, ranging from structured interviews to focus groups or ethnographical observations, and the choice of which method to apply is driven by the research questions and aims. Such approaches would ground the research project within the qualitative realm; a perspective which is often used in Translation and Interpreting Studies. Indeed, Pöchhacker asserts that

Fuelled by a convergence of social sciences and humanities toward a postmodern, interpretive approach to research and theory, qualitative research came to drive a methodological revolution which has spread far beyond its disciplinary origins, including the field of Translation Studies. (Pöchhacker, 2004, p. 62)

This drive in qualitative research is particularly evident when examining the interpreter’s role and their perception of it, as many studies have relied on interviews as a method (such as Berk-Seligson, 2008; Edwards *et al.*, 2005; Fowler, 2012). This could be explained by the fact that interviews provide an opportunity to gather “thick data”, which may also shed light on different realities (Miller & Glassner, 2011, p. 144).

This section first provides a critical review of the different methods used in Interpreting Studies (IS), and, drawing on previous studies in IS, it justifies the use of semi-structured interviews as the most appropriate method used to investigate the court interpreter’s perception of her role. It then establishes how semi-structured interviews were conducted; and finally, it discusses how data was triangulated, and how important it was to acknowledge the researcher’s voice.

2.1. Research methods in Interpreting Studies

According to Hertog and van der Veer (2006), the first Critical Link Conference in Canada in 1995 was a landmark in establishing PSI as a research field, and since then, many studies have been conducted with a wide range of methods being used. Liu (2011) acknowledges the array of methods used, which, she argues, are mainly evidence-based. To make such a claim, she examined forty-eight articles published in the journal *Interpreting* between 2004 and 2009. She concludes that studies are anchored within a qualitative rather than quantitative paradigm slightly

more often (a twenty-six to twenty-two ratio), although ten adopted a quantitative and qualitative approach in order to triangulate their data. Furthermore, she lists a wide range of methods that have been used in IS, although some (such as interviews) are more frequently used than others (e.g. biographies).

Such an array of methods was a salient feature when reviewing the existing PSI literature for this doctoral thesis. For instance, methods consisted of:

- examining consecutive interpreting notes or interpreted discourse as texts (Albl-Mikasa, 2008; Wadensjö, 1998);
- experimental approaches anchored within a quantitative paradigm (Braun & Taylor, 2011a);
- survey research with varying degrees of response rates and different target population (for instance, Ozolins (2004) received 150 filled-in questionnaires from practising interpreters, whilst Mesa (2000) who sent the questionnaire to a wider community, including health practitioners and patients, gathered 394 responses);
- ethnography and participant observation (Berk-Seligson (1990) spent seven months recording court proceedings, and Angelelli (2004) recorded over 300 interpreter-mediated medical appointments over twenty-two months);
- focus groups (Angelelli (2006) used four focus groups with healthcare interpreters to examine dilemmas between role, ethics, and expectations in Californian hospitals), interviews with a varying number of interviewees (Edwards *et al.* (2005) interviewed fifty participants, whilst Guéry (2014) interviewed eleven public service interpreters as part of her doctoral study).

In line with Liu (2011)'s research, it was also noted that many studies adopted a mixed method approach when collecting their data. This could combine participant observations with interviews (Angelelli, 2004; Fowler, 2012), focus groups with interviews (Tipton, 2011), or even called upon a qualitative and quantitative approach through the use of questionnaires and court recording analysis (Christensen, 2008). Hale and Napier (2013) argue that this mixed method approach is particularly used in social science. As IS is anchored partially in social science, especially since the social turn whereby studies focus on interpreter-

mediated interactions (Pöchhacker, 2008b), it is not surprising that mixed method approaches are being widely used.

When participants' perceptions and experience form the research question focus, some studies have used questionnaires to gather data. For instance, Angelelli (2003) used questionnaires to survey 293 interpreters about their role perceptions. Interestingly, this study was carried out in a multi-setting (conference, court, and health) and cross-national (Canada, Mexico, and the USA) environment.

Pöchhacker (2000) also used a questionnaire in order to gather the opinion of thirty-six interpreters and over 600 service providers in medical and social work settings in Vienna. As their aim was to take stock of current trends, the use of questionnaires was justified. In other studies the number of participants was much lower, in which case one could question whether this data collection method was the most appropriate. For instance, Martin and Ortega Herráez (2009)'s study surveyed the court interpreter's perception of her role in the Madrid region. They sent twenty-four questionnaires to various service providers and freelancers, and they received nineteen completed questionnaires. However, Welman, Kruger, and Mitchell (2005) argue that although response rates may be high, researchers must ensure that the responses are representative of the sampled population so that the data gathered is valid. In Martin and Ortega Herráez (2009)'s study, although the response rate is high (72%), the extent to which this is representative of the Madrid court interpreting population could be questioned on account of the low number of participants.

Although questionnaires were used in the above studies, Liu (2011, p. 89) noted that interviews as a data collection method seems the most widely used when participants' perceptions are the study focus. For instance, Lipkin (2008) uses in-depth interviews with eleven interpreters and military officers to examine perceived power relations and the interpreter's duties. As mentioned previously, the number of participants taking part in interviews tends to fluctuate. For example, Berk-Seligson (2008) investigated access to justice in indigenous languages in Ecuador. She analysed ninety-three interviews conducted with judges, magistrates, lawyers, justices of the peace, interpreters, translators, and political leaders. However, Edwards *et al.* (2005) use semi-structured interviews with fifty service users to explore their experience with interpreters, whilst in her

doctoral thesis, Guéry (2014) conducted eleven semi-structured interviews . It is interesting to note that most studies using interviews as their sole or main data collection method occurred in the second half of the 2000s, which reflects the social turn in IS mentioned previously. However, unlike questionnaires, the motivation to conduct interviews is often inscribed within a desire to obtain an in-depth understanding of a participant's account and to gather multivocal views on one research question (Tracy, 2013, pp. 132-133). As this study also aims to analyse court interpreters' perceptions of their role in-depth, conducting semi-structured interviews is deemed the most appropriate data collection method, and it is in line with previous studies in IS.

Given the wide ranging methodologies and methods used in IS, Liu (2011) calls for more methodological rigour as she identified that information on methodologies and methods was not always provided in published research. Furthermore, it can be argued that studies' ontological and epistemological stances are rarely acknowledged in IS. However, it is important to note that this particular interest in methodological trends is relatively new in IS, as most publications are rather recent (such as Hale & Napier, 2013; Liu, 2011; Pöchhacker, 2008b). It could also be hypothesised that taking into account articles' word limit and publishers' style in IS literature, methodological information may not have been deemed essential features in IS research up to now. Taking into account this doctoral project's research questions and the need to obtain an in-depth understanding of the interpreter's perception of their role, semi-structured interviews will be used as a data gathering tool.

2.2. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are conducted within the framework of an interview guide that lists questions or pointers, eliciting the themes that the researcher wants to cover. They are regarded as part of a methodological continuum, at each end of which structured interviews and unstructured interviews are situated. Edwards and Holland argue that semi structured interviews

allow much more space for interviewees to answer on their own terms than structured interviews, but do provide some structure for comparison across interviewees in a study by covering the same topics, even in some instances using the same questions. (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 29)

Building on the notion of semi-structured interviews as a flexible method of conducting qualitative research, Welman *et al.* (2005, pp. 166-167) listed various benefits of using semi-structured interviews. First, the question order may differ as participants may have already provided an answer in their narration. Secondly, semi-structured interviews also allow the researcher to depart from the interview guide, and they can ask further questions to explore in more depth an aspect that may not be covered in the interview questions. Finally, probes can be used so that the participant could clarify their views in case their answers were vague or incomplete. Unlike structured interviews (that do not provide the space to explore questions/themes other than those listed in the interview questionnaire) or unstructured interviews (for which gathering comparable data between participants may be problematic), semi-structured interviews were deemed the most appropriate method as they enabled some flexibility to explore further themes that could arise, whilst ensuring that sufficient data was gathered to establish a role-space model for the participant regarding their role perception, and to analyse their *Translation* process in accordance with Callon (1986)'s study.

When conducting semi-structured interviews, there are various techniques available to the researcher in order to elicit the participants' stories. Edwards and Holland (2013, p. 32) list five possible "forms": oral history, life course, life history, biographical, and narrative interviews⁴⁴. Given the scope of this project, and the fact that it is inscribed within a specific ANT ontology and epistemology, it was decided that interviews would be conducted as a narrative, which is

based on the idea that people produce narratives about the self and identity through time that draw not only on their own experience and understanding, but on culturally circulating stories that help them interpret and make sense of the world and themselves in it. (Edwards & Holland, 2013, p. 35)

In order to remain in line with ANT's ontology and epistemology, the narrative form is interpreted, in this study, as a means of producing self and identity within a given network. The notion of time and past experience that affect participants' experience and understanding is to be translated into networks that the

⁴⁴ Edwards and Holland (2013, pp. 32-36) provide a detailed account of the appropriateness of the various interview forms. For instance, the oral history form would encourage the participants to share their experience at a particular historical moment, whilst life history would focus on societal expectations and the participant's experience at a certain stage in their life.

participants created before the interview, and their narratives are representations of these networks. Furthermore, culturally circulating stories are shaped by the diverse forms of inscriptions (for instance, training, codes of conduct, etc.) that are also actors in the participants' creation of their role perception.

Although there are numerous benefits of using interviews as a data collecting method, there are also pitfalls. The absence of generalisation or replication, the presence of subjectivity, and the disparities in the language used by participants are often cited as inherent methodological difficulties when research is conducted via interviews (Bryman, 2016; Denscombe, 2010; Easton, Fry McComish, & Greenberg, 2000; Fielding, 1993; Kvale, 1996; Scheurich, 1995; Silverman, 1993). In order to circumvent these issues, or at least reduce their impact, it is worth noting that this piece of research does not aim to generalise the court interpreter's role, but to unravel how some participants in the UK perceive it, and how the use of technologies affect their own perception. Furthermore, Edwards and Holland (2013, p. 92) argue that replication should be assessed on the soundness and rigour of the research process adopted. Edwards and Holland (2013, p. 92) also state that subjectivity "is an irrelevant concern when subjectivity is often the focus and the vehicle for research using qualitative interviewing". In this doctoral research, participants' subjectivity is a core component, as it examines the participants' own perceptions of their role. However, in order to minimise the researcher's subjectivity when analysing the data gathered, various data triangulation methods were applied (see 2.3). Furthermore, Scheurich (1995, 1997) warns against potential misinterpretations of language used by the participants and the researcher. He highlights the ephemeral understanding between all the participants, that is that the language used is understood by the participants whilst the interviews are carried out. However, this could lead to other interpretations when transcripts are analysed in the post-interview stage. By anchoring this project within ANT's ontology and epistemology, and more specifically by using one repertoire, as discussed previously in Section 1, it can be posited that any risks arising from a language misunderstanding would be minimal.

Interviews within ANT-led studies have been used as a viable data collecting method in various studies (Rivera González, 2013; Stanforth, 2007; Tatnall &

Burgess, 2002). It may be worth noting that these studies combined interviews with other data collection tools such as observations and/or analysis of inscriptions (e.g. legal documents). In his study on implementing housing management plans Dankert (2016, para. 23) argues that when conducting ANT-led interviews, the starting point should be an actor, and that the interview will be conducted “through the eyes” of the participants. Therefore, for the purpose of this doctoral thesis, interviews will be conducted “through the eyes” of court interpreters, and as Chapter 1 highlighted the importance of codes of ethics when defining the interpreter’s role, interviews will be combined with inscriptions (such as the NRPSI’s Code of Professional Conduct).

As discussed previously in Section 2.1 above and also in Chapter 2, interviews seem to be the preferred data collection means when participants’ perceptions are investigated in IS. Furthermore, as argued above, semi-structured interviews enable the researcher to explore unexpected themes whilst gathering enough data to be able to design role-space models and analyse the translation process. It was also put forward that semi-structured interviews fit ANT’s ontological and epistemological stances. However, when comparing this study with others on the use of VC equipment in court settings, some studies triangulate their data sources, and they combine interviews with court observations (e.g.: Fowler, 2012). Considering the benefits of semi-structured interviews and the research questions, which focus solely on the participants’ perceptions of their role, the fact that this study does not aim to investigate what happens in court, and the fact that this study’s aim is not to question the heterogeneity of the court interpreter’s working environment ⁴⁵, it was decided that only semi-structured interviews would be used as a data collection method. Notwithstanding the fact that this study does not triangulate data sources, triangulation was achieved through other means, as discussed below.

2.3. Triangulating data and the importance of the researcher’s voice

⁴⁵ For more information on VCI and court observations in England or in other countries, and on the heterogeneity of the court interpreter’s working environment, see Braun et al. (2016b) or Fowler (2012), for instance.

When discussing the need to triangulate data, Healy and Perry argue that a participant's perception of reality is

a window of reality through which a picture of reality can be triangulated with other perceptions (...). That is, realism relies on multiple perceptions about a single reality (...). These multiple perceptions involve triangulation of several data sources, and of several peer researcher's interpretations of those triangulations. (Healy & Perry, 2000, p. 123)

As discussed in Section 2.1 above, different mixed methods have been used in IS to triangulate the data sources (e.g. questionnaire combined with interviews).

However, as this study is anchored within ANT, the use of a questionnaire would have infringed ANT's ontology by imposing the researcher's views and specific repertoire when designing questions and potential answers. Furthermore, when examining the above studies in 2.1, whose foci were the interpreter or user's perceptions gathered through interviews as their main method, it appears that scholars did not triangulate their data. This could be explained by the fact that there is currently a lack of research on how to triangulate data sources when the research focus is on the perception of one specific group of individuals. For these reasons, the triangulation of data sources was not used in this doctoral thesis.

Notwithstanding the above and in order to ensure data validity, triangulation for the role-space models was obtained instead through peer researcher's triangulation. More specifically, triangulation was achieved through analyst triangulation, whereby other analysts critically reviewed the data findings (this triangulation method has been discussed and applied by scholars such as Patton, 1999, 2002; Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2006). To this end, three scholars in Translation and Interpreting studies were asked to verify three interviews each (hereafter referred to as S1, S2, and S3). This amounted to half of the data (nine interviews) being verified which, taking into account their availabilities, was deemed an acceptable number of interviews⁴⁶. During their reviews, they were asked to assess the validity of the role-space models by comparing each

⁴⁶ It is worth noting that the three scholars specialise in various research fields, but that they all had a keen interest (through their teaching, papers and publications) in sociology in Translation and Interpreting Studies. As role-space and *Translation* are anchored within sociology, their interdisciplinary research and their ability to verify and comment on the data validity was an asset in this project.

participant's interview with the role-space model created in Appendix A. To do so, they were provided with a role-space fact sheet (see Appendix D), and they were also referred to Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s monograph. In order to reflect the role-space models created, S1, S2, and S3 were all attributed one participant with experience in either VCI A or B, one participant with experience in both VCI A and VCI B, and one participant with a split role-space model⁴⁷. This distribution also reflects the participants' various qualifications, numbers of cases conducted in VCI, their years of experience as a court interpreter in court, and from the point of view of research design, the interview medium⁴⁸. The findings from the analyst triangulation are discussed in more depth in Chapter 7. The individual distribution of the participants' interviews between the three scholars is summarised in Table 2 below.

Scholars	Participants' interviews analysed
S1	P7, P13, P14
S2	P8, P16, P17
S3	P4, P6, P12

Table 2: Allocation of participants' interviews

Furthermore, the data generated in the interviews was also triangulated through theory triangulation (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, Dicenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014). By analysing the interviews through role-space and Translation, the data will not only reveal how court interpreters perceive their role in VCI, but also how they negotiate such roles, and the extent to which the use of technologies impacts on their role perception.

Finally, one cannot underestimate the impact that the researcher's voice has in terms of conducting the field work and analysing the data. In line with Latour (1999)'s study and Stalder (2000)'s article, the researcher in this project is considered a hybrid actor in the sense that he is reporting on interviews during which participants narrated their experience. However, the researcher was also part of the network that was created during the interview with each participant, and in which he was an actor. It is worth noting that the researcher and the

⁴⁷ For more information about split role-space models, refer to Chapter 5, Section 4.

⁴⁸ As discussed below, some interviews were conducted via Skype, while others occurred face-to-face.

participants' goals may differ in the interplay they create. Indeed, the participants are taking part in the study to narrate their experience in VCI A and/or VCI B, whilst the researcher's focus is on their role perception, and how they negotiated it. Therefore, *Translation* and its various phases may be occurring during the interviews. In such a context, and in order to minimise the impact of the researcher's voice and not to impose his views on the participants, the researcher will not define himself as the Obligatory Passage Point (as discussed in Chapter 3), but he will follow the participants in their narration of events.

In summary, this section has justified the use of semi-structured interviews as the data collection method, which is in line with similar studies in IS, and is coherent with ANT methodology. The next section presents the research design that was developed in accordance with a method based on semi-structured interviews.

3. Research design

In this section, the research design framing this study is discussed in depth. To do so, a chronological approach, from applying for ethics approval to analysing the participants' profiles that took part in the study, is adopted.

3.1. Recruiting the participants

Before conducting interviews, various steps had to be undertaken. These are described in the following section.

3.1.1. Ethics approval and obtaining the participants' informed consent

Ethics approval was granted by the University of Salford's Research Ethics Panel in January 2013 after submitting the College Ethics Panel – Ethical Approval Form for Post-Graduates.

A Participant Information Sheet for prospective participants was created. This detailed the study's background (such as the study's scope and aims), and it also gave some practical guidelines (such as the estimated duration of the interview, the choice of conducting the interview via Skype or in face-to-face mode). The research supervisors' contact details were also included in case the prospective participants had any queries or complaints.

Seidman (2006) urges the researcher to draft a consent form, and he recommends that it cover seven principles, which formed the basis for drafting this study's Participant Consent Form. It explicitly stated that participants agreed to take part in the study, and that they did so of their own free will. They were also asked to confirm that they had had the opportunity to ask questions about the study, and that they were informed that they could withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. The Participant Consent Form also granted the participants confidentiality and anonymity. Furthermore, participants were asked to agree to the recording of the interview (on a digital voice recorder for face-to-face interviews, or via the freeware Amolto Call Recorder for interviews conducted over Skype). If participants did not agree to this, the form stated that extensive notes would be taken during the interviews. Finally, participants were asked if they agreed to be contacted at a later stage in case further information was needed. All the participants agreed to the terms, and none declined to have the interview recorded. It is worth noting that Seidman (2006)'s seventh principle relating to interviewing children was not relevant, as all participants were expected to be over 18 years of age. Furthermore, the physical or mental risks that could be encountered by the participants were deemed low. However, the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy's contact details were always available to the researcher, and would have been given in case participants had shared a traumatic experience with the researcher.

All the Consent Forms were received in advance of the interviews taking place, apart from three. In such situations, the participants confirmed that they had received them, and that they were aware of their content. As these three Consent Forms were duly filled in and returned after the interviews had been conducted, the data were kept as part of the study corpus.

3.1.2. Finding the participants

Upon receiving the Ethics approval to carry out this study, three interpreters who were already known to the researcher were contacted to take part in a pilot study (discussed in 3.2.2). After reviewing and validating the list of interview questions, it was decided to disseminate the call for participation to prospective participants working as court interpreters in England. As the workings of one particular court

was not under scrutiny, no specific authorisation from formal gatekeepers (such as a court or NRPSI official) was required (Seidman, 2006). Furthermore, since there is no register detailing interpreters with experience in VCI, the call was sent through various routes to practising court interpreters. The amount of information about the researcher and the research was limited, but still sufficient, in order to gain informed consent. This approach was used to ensure that participants would not restrict their understanding to a specific frame, and that they would not “slant what they say in the light of their interpretation of ‘who’ they think [the researchers] are and what they think the effect of the research will be” (Wengraf, 2001, p. 189).

Various channels were used in order to find prospective participants. Some court interpreters known to the researcher were contacted directly, as were training centres for the DPSI (within Further and Higher Education) so that tutors could take part in and/or snowball the information to their former students. With regard to interpreters’ organisations, the Institute of Translation and Interpreting’s Chief Executive, the Chartered Institute of Linguists’ President, the Association of Police and Court Interpreters’ Chairman were all contacted to ask them to disseminate the call for participants (including the Participant Information Sheet and the Participant Consent Form) to their members. Often they did not manage the data base personally, but forwarded the dissemination request to another point of contact so that they could send all the relevant material to their members. Posters were also distributed in Manchester Magistrates’ and Crown Courts so that they could be pinned on notice boards. Furthermore, a blog was created so that participants could also download the material. The above approaches yielded a very limited number of interested participants. Therefore, Capita, a translation and interpreting company which provided court interpreters nationally, was contacted, but they declined to contact their interpreters. At this stage, it was decided to contact court interpreters directly by using the National Register of Public Service Interpreters. Access to the register is free, but it is restricted to the first fifty interpreters per language combination. Although many languages did not have fifty interpreters nationally, some returned more interpreters than the researcher was allowed to contact (for instance, a search for Polish interpreters returned 264 entries, but it was possible to contact only the first fifty). In total, 1150 prospective participants were contacted by email.

Thirty-nine interpreters expressed an interest in taking part in the study. However, owing to time constraints, some participants then decided to withdraw from the study, and others never replied to invitations to schedule interviews. In the end, eighteen participants were interviewed (including three participants for the pilot study) between 13/11/2013 and 02/02/2015. This number was deemed sufficient when applying Seidman (2006)'s principles of sufficiency and saturation of information⁴⁹. Indeed, the sample was deemed representative of the interpreter's population as both genders and a wide range of languages, years of experience, experience in VCI, qualifications were represented in the interviews. Furthermore, by the time Participant 18 was interviewed, much of the information provided by then had already been discussed with previous participants.

3.2. Operationalising the research design

This sub-section explains how the theoretical frameworks were taken into account to design the interview questions, what lessons were learned from the pilot study, and how NVivo was used to code the data collected.

3.2.1. Operationalising the theoretical frameworks into interview questions

Kvale (1996, pp. 94-97) highlights the importance of reviewing the literature relevant to the research study, and understanding the theoretical framework(s) used in order to thematise the interview questions. As recommended, a thorough analysis of the role of the court interpreter, the operationalisation of role-space and Actor-Network Theory (and more specifically *Translation*) was undertaken before establishing the themes and pointer questions used in the interviews. The thematising process was deeply anchored within the works of Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) and Callon (1986) in order to design questions for role-space and *Translation*, respectively.

With regard to role-space, questions were divided into three main categories, each representing one role-space axis. Based on R. G. Lee and Llewellyn-Jones (2011)'s list of criteria discussed in Chapter 2, pointers on Presentation of Self

⁴⁹ The principle of sufficiency refers to the representativeness of the sample in the study, in contrast with the population surveyed. The saturation of information indicates the point by which no new information is discovered during the interviews.

were thematised around the introduction/being sworn-in process, impartiality, trust, and how readily participants felt that they were seen as the court interpreter by the other court actors. With regard to Participant Alignment, themes evolved around body language, tone and register, cultural differences, feedback and back-channelling, the possibility to hear and see the other participants, or to intervene. Finally, pointers dealing with seeking clarification or repetition, managing dyadic exchanges, and overlapping speeches were used to gather data on Interaction Management. This approach then enabled the researcher to assess the participants' interviews on a low to high continuum (for Presentation of Self and Interaction Management), and their Participant Alignment (based on their position compared to the axis' point of origin), in accordance with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s study. More specifically, their role-space model for the court interpreting (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, pp. 74-79) was used to benchmark for low presentation of self, an equal alignment, and a quite high interaction management, as discussed in Chapter 2.

A similar approach was adopted for *Translation*. The themes were divided into four categories, each one representing one of the *Translation* phases (see Chapter 3). In order to gather information on the problematisation phase, participants were asked to list the people present during the hearing, and to define their role as a court interpreter and the extent to which they felt that they were an essential link in court. For the interessement phase, they were asked how the other participants perceived their role, and if they were using any strategies to reconcile any role perception differences. Then, they were asked whether they had had to renegotiate their role later on in the interaction (enrolment phase), and if they had had to renegotiate their role from one court hearing to another (mobilisation phase). Such an approach allowed the researcher to create the participants' networks, and to assess their *Translation* process.

3.2.2. Pilot study

Regarding the importance of conducting a pilot study, Seidman stated:

I urge all interviewing researchers to build into their proposal a pilot venture in which they try out their interviewing design with a small number of participants. They will learn whether their research structure is appropriate for the study they envision. (Seidman, 2006, p. 32)

Following such recommendations, a pilot study was conducted with three practising court interpreters from 13/11/2013 to 29/11/2013. This led the researcher to question the number of VCI court assignments required in order to take part in the study, and the robustness of the interview pointers.

First, it was expected that all the participants in the study would have interpreted at least five times via VCI in a Magistrates' or Crown Court. The number of required VCI assignments was decided in a rather subjective manner, but it was believed that such a number would generate a breadth of experience.

Furthermore, the participants would have enough experience to reflect on their role perception in a non-anecdotal manner. However, during the pilot study, it came to light that gaining access to interpreters with such a background would be difficult. Despite combining forty-seven years of experience between them, Participants 1, 2 and 3 reported that they had only interpreted in VCI 2, 4, and 2 times, respectively, in the court settings under investigation. It also transpired that these participants had not had recent experience of interpreting in VCI A. Nevertheless, their recollection of the events was still very vivid. Therefore, it was decided not to include any timeframe in terms of their experience.

Furthermore, the interview pointers were first designed to align with Callon (1986)'s methodology, as they focused mainly on the four *Translation* phases. However, when analysing the data, it became apparent that the themes discussed during the interviews did not generate sufficient data in order to design fully-functional role-space models for all the participants, and Participant 2 and Participant 3 had to be later contacted by email to provide further information regarding their presentation of self.

Therefore, taking into account that the study's aim was not to compare participants' experience, but to focus on a more in-depth analysis of their individual perception, the participant requirement was amended, and only one assignment conducted in VCI A or VCI B, regardless of the timeframe, in a Magistrates' or Crown Court was deemed necessary for this study. Moreover,

further interview pointers and themes⁵⁰ were designed in order to align with the three-axes themes covered by Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014).

3.2.3. Using NVivo for coding

As argued by Basit (2003, p. 145), “electronic methods of coding data are increasingly being used by innovative researchers”. This has led to an increasing number of publications highlighting the advantages and the pitfalls of using Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS). Arguably, NVivo is one of the leading examples of CAQDAS, assisting researchers in analysing their qualitative data. Various scholars (such as Basit, 2003; Bergin, 2011; Bong, 2002; Robert & Wilson, 2002; Siccama & Penna, 2008; Weitzman, 1999; Welsh, 2002) argue that the use of such a piece of software enables the researcher:

- to be more consistent by using only one analysis system; hence improving data analysis reliability (in terms of consistency and reproducibility) and validity (i.e. the extent to which the use of NVivo can measure what it is intended to do);
- to be more transparent with regard to the analysis process;
- to store and organise all the data in one location;
- to handle a rather large amount of data.

Eighteen participants were interviewed in this doctoral thesis, which generated 12.53 hours of interview recording. Once transcribed, the data corpus was 105,104 words. Given this rather large amount of data, it was decided that NVivo would be used to code the interviews. Using NVivo was also a means to improve further validity and reliability, and make the process more transparent. However, the above scholars also warned that there would be drawbacks when using such a piece of software, namely:

- learning how to use the software can be time consuming;
- researchers may be reluctant to change their coding categories once they are established;
- researchers may feel more distant from their data;

⁵⁰ See Appendix B.

- researchers may take a quantitative approach to analysing qualitative data.

In order to avoid such pitfalls, various steps were taken. First, the University of Salford offered a two-day training session on the use of NVivo. This was particularly useful to learn in a rather short period of time the various functions relevant to this research project. Parents, child nodes and free nodes were used so that data could be organised, coded, recoded, and decoded easily. It was also decided not to use the quantitative functions in NVivo, but to focus principally on the coding facilities to avoid taking a quantitative approach. Finally, based on the researcher's personal experience and ICT knowledge, it was not likely that using NVivo would make the researcher more distant from his data.

Furthermore, coding was also carried out in accordance with the thematising process described in 3.2.1 above, which according to Welman *et al.* (2005, p. 214) makes the coding approach descriptive. Parent nodes were used as main themes (e.g. Presentation of Self or Problematisation) under which each interview pointer was classified as a child node. As Bergin (2011, p. 8) argues, free nodes are a "stand-alone node that had no clear logical connection with other nodes – it does not easily fit into a hierarchical structure". In this study, free nodes were also used to code data that did not fall within role-space or *Translation*, but some themes emerged whilst coding such as the use of simultaneous versus consecutive interpreting, the interpreter's feelings about court interpreting or VCI, or the reasons why VCI is used in court. All in all, 7 parent nodes, 44 child nodes, and 16 free nodes were created⁵¹, which enabled 1,137 reference segments to be categorised in the eighteen interviews.

Finally, coding through NVivo was coupled with the use of geometry freeware, namely Geogebra, in order to create the three-dimensional role-space models that represent the participants' perceptions of their role.

3.3. The interview medium

According to Stephens (2007), technologies have been used since the 1980s in order to conduct qualitative research (such as conducting semi-structured

⁵¹ See Appendix C for a screen capture in NVivo, which details some parent nodes, child nodes, and free nodes used in the data analysis.

interviews on the telephone). With the advent of technologies, and more particularly the improvement and use of Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP), more and more researchers are using new communication software to gather qualitative data, especially when conducting interviews (Cater, N.D.; Redlich-Amirav & Higginbottom, 2014; Sullivan, 2013). As stated by Deakin and Wakefield (2014, p. 605), “online interviews represent one form of [Internet-mediated research] that has been heralded as a new ‘methodological frontier’”. Interestingly, Skype seems to take the lead in this area as the most frequently used piece of software amongst researchers. This could be attributed to the fact that it is freeware, and it seems to be more reliable than others, such as Facetime (Weller, 2015).

There are various benefits to be gained by conducting interviews over Skype. Redlich-Amirav and Higginbottom (2014) claim that it allows researchers and participants to remain in a safe location (often their own home) so that they are “not imposing on the other person’s space” (Redlich-Amirav & Higginbottom, 2014, p. 6). Furthermore, they argue that using Skype enables the use of a webcam, and researchers and participants are no longer “losing visual and interpersonal aspects of the interaction”, as used to be the case when conducting interviews over the telephone (Redlich-Amirav & Higginbottom, 2014, p. 6). However, when conducting research on internet counselling, Leibert, Archer, Munson, and York (2006) discovered that only the upper body could be seen on the camera, which meant that some non-verbal cues could be lost. Nevertheless, they believed that this was offset by the fact that patients were more willing to share their stories from their home, rather than being interviewed at the counsellor’s office. Finally, taking a blended approach to conducting interviews (i.e. in face-to-face, via the telephone and/or a VoIP software) has been used in various studies (Cater, N.D.; Fowler, 2012), which, further to the advantages discussed above, could also be a means of improving the number of participants (Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004).

From a more practical point of view, Redlich-Amirav and Higginbottom (2014) claim that, unlike conducting interviews in a face-to-face setting, researchers do not have to worry that their digital recorder’s batteries are running out. Skype also reduces travel costs and time (compared to face-to-face interviews), which enables the researchers to interview participants further afield; in addition, the audio quality of the recordings is good (Pretto & Pockness, 2008).

However, the use of Skype when conducting qualitative research can also generate difficulties. First, Redlich-Amirav and Higginbottom (2014) state that some technical issues related to the use of microphones or headsets can arise, and researchers must take into account that interviewees can be in different time zones. Also, some “participants [may not be] familiar with technologies” (Redlich-Amirav & Higginbottom, 2014, p. 8). Additionally, Hay-Gibson (2009) highlights that some participants may not be aware of how to converse when Skype is used, and some may be technophobes. In order to minimise such difficulties, various practical steps were undertaken in this research project. Although pre-empting every potential technical issue would not be feasible, risks were kept to a minimum by testing Skype equipment before the beginning of each interview. Furthermore, it was not expected that participants would be in different time zones as they were all practising court interpreters in England. In order to ensure that the medium would not discourage prospective participants from taking part in this study, they were given the choice, when contacted, as to whether they wanted the interview to take place face-to-face or via Skype. It is also worth noting that Skype is freeware and easy to install, which were criteria taken into account when choosing this piece of software as participants would be able to download it.

Further to the above practical difficulties, ethical issues can arise when using VoIP software. First, scholars such as Sullivan (2013) and Weller (2015) have discussed the authenticity of the data gathered and the participants’ presentation of self. For instance, would participants be more tempted to lie or hide the truth when interviews were conducted over Skype? However, according to Sullivan (2013, p. 56), when conducting interviews (regardless of the medium), gauging the data authenticity and presentation of self is always difficult, and researchers should always refrain from making any subjective assessment. In fact, she takes the argument further by stating that the use of a “communication program like Skype mimics face-to-face interactions, including the presentation of self in an authentic way, almost as well as those face-to-face exchanges” (Sullivan, 2013, p. 56).

Furthermore, Redlich-Amirav and Higginbottom (2014) argue that it could be difficult to gain informed consent from the participants, when the interviews are conducted over the internet. In order to minimise such a risk, Cater (N.D., p. 3)

argues that “it is important to open each interview with your informed consent statement and a reminder that the interviews are being recorded.” Moreover, when conducting interviews via Skype, researchers must also be aware of potential confidentiality and safety issues. Sullivan (2013, p. 56) argues that “Skype even has the right to record your conversations although they don’t make that clear when you sign up.” To protect the participants’ confidentiality, Skype may not be suitable as an interview medium where participants’ illegal activities may be discussed. However, despite further investigation, no irrefutable information was found on the alleged use of wiretapping devices by Skype, as argued by Sullivan (2013). In addition, Weller (2015, p. 43) warns that the use of VoIP software may not be appropriate when discussing sensitive or traumatic topics. Finally, Redlich-Amirav and Higginbottom (2014) draw attention to the fact that the Internet could be a less secure medium for conducting interviews as it is more at risk of being hacked.

In order to minimise these risks, it was decided not to assess the veracity of the participants’ input. Such an approach also aligns with Actor-Network Theory whereby the researcher is expected to report on participants’ realities without altering or censoring them (as discussed in Section 1). Regarding obtaining informed consent, participants were required to send the signed Participant Consent Form before the start of each interview. Furthermore, the consent form was discussed at the beginning of the interview, and participants were given time to ask any queries before the start of the interview. Moreover, participants were warned in the Participant Information Sheet that if they were to divulge any illegal activity, the researcher was duty bound to report it. Finally, the University of Salford operates within strict data management guidelines, which were followed in order to avoid any hacking risks.

In light of the methodology, it is worth noting that technologies will be considered as potential actors during the interviews, whether they are conducted via Skype or in face-to-face. Indeed, in the former, computers, recording software, microphones, and cameras may be part of the network created during the interviews. In the latter, a digital recording device will be used. However, it is posited that leaving the choice of the interview medium to the interviewee may

alleviate the effects that technology may have on the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee⁵².

Relevant studies (e.g.: Berg, 2004; Sullivan, 2013) generally agree that Skype mirrors a face-to-face situation, and is a valid medium for conducting qualitative research when the technical, practical, or ethical difficulties discussed above are taken into account. Considering the advantages, and by implementing the above-mentioned strategies to keep difficulties to a minimum, it was decided that interviews would be conducted either in face-to-face or via Skype, and the choice was left to the prospective participants.

3.4. Transcription

According to Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, a transcript is

a text that “re”-presents an event; it is not the event itself. Following this logic, what is re-presented is data constructed by a researcher for a particular purpose, not just talk written down. (Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997, p. 172)

With regard to re-presenting data for a specific purpose, various scholars (e.g.: Bucholtz, 2000; Green *et al.*, 1997; Kvale, 1996) argue that the researcher has to decide what is to be transcribed (interpretative transcribing process) and how it is to be transcribed (representative transcribing process). In order to decide what to transcribe, and how to do so, Abdallah (2012)’s five-level transcription table was used. A level 1 transcription would be suitable for researchers whose aim is to extract the main ideas discussed in an interview. This would be done by writing down the main ideas whilst listening to the audio-recording. However, a level 5 transcription aims to obtain a detailed account of the interview to be used within the scope of Discourse Analysis or Conversation Analysis. Data obtained could be re-presented by using Jefferson (1974)’s transcription conventions (as adapted by Hale & Napier, 2013, p. 174), which take into account the speech intonation or the

⁵² With regarding to conducting the interviews via Skype, no participant raised any concerns regarding the use of technology. With regard to interviews conducted face-to-face, only P3 mentioned that she felt uneasy with Skype. However, she also stated that digital recording devices made her feel uneasy. She was offered to the possibility to turn off the recording device and the researcher would take some notes. However, she declined the offer. It is believed that the effect of technologies may have been minimal as her role-space models and *Translation* process was similar to of interviewees. For this reason, her interview was used as part of the corpus.

length of the pauses. Considering that an in-depth understanding of the interviews was necessary to unravel the court interpreters' perception of their role, although Discourse Analysis or Conversation Analysis would not be used as analytical instruments, a level-3 transcription was deemed appropriate to transcribe the eighteen participants' interviews. In such cases, Abdallah (2012) recommends that the interviews should be transcribed verbatim, and expletives and dialect should be incorporated. In order to ensure that the transcription was aligned with ANT's tenet of agnosticism and non-censorship discussed in Section 1, it was decided to include the expletives. No dialect was used during the interviews, which could be due to the fact that most interviewees had English as a B language. However, some terms in foreign languages were used (e.g.: Participant 3), and they were therefore preserved as such in the transcripts. Although no specific convention marks were used to transcribe the interviews (as it was not required by Abdallah's level 3 transcription), the sign '[]' was used in order to anonymise any piece of information that could help identify a participant. In order to ensure that the transcripts were still readable, people's names, language combinations, or the city where they worked, for instance, were replaced by [name], [language combination], [city] respectively. Finally, Kvale (1996, p. 169) highlights the time-saving benefits of having the transcription carried out by a third party. However, in order to preserve the participants' identity, it was decided that the researcher would carry out the transcription.

As recommended by Wengraf (2001), each audio recording was played in its entirety before it was transcribed. This process allowed the researcher to obtain at first hand "a sense of what it's all about" (Wengraf, 2001, p. 209). This was consolidated with the notes made during the interviews, and also those drafted in the post-interview reflection memos. Such a process then enables the researcher to start analysing the data whilst transcription is taking place. According to Wengraf:

The point is to spark off many theoretical memos for yourself in this crucial interaction of active struggle with the transcript and active struggle of your mind as it remembers the original interview experience and also reflects on possible interpretations of that original interview process, and the data generated. (Wengraf, 2001, p. 201)

Contrary to Kvale (1996, p. 169)'s suggestion, this further highlights the importance that the transcription is carried out by the researcher so that they can access a deeper understanding of the data gathered. However, it is worth noting that the end of some interviews (Participants 5, 6, and 8) was not transcribed as the discussion was not relevant to this piece of research. In that case, a summary note was included.

From a more practical viewpoint, and as recommended by Hale and Napier (2013), a software (express Scribe Transcription) and a transcription pedal were used in order to slow down the source audio file's speed. They also recommend such equipment in order to "capture all the nuances in the transcription" (Hale & Napier, 2013, p. 142). However, the level of transcription was not as detailed as that required when Conversation Analysis is used. Nonetheless, in order to abide by ANT's tenets of agnosticism and non-censorship, it was deemed useful, to some extent, to manage and transcribe repetitions or hedgers, fillers, etc. It is also worth noting that the sound quality, although very good on the whole, could not be relied on absolutely in a few interviews, especially when some participants expressed themselves in strong foreign-accented English, or when one face-to-face was conducted in a public space. In such cases, the rewind and slow-down functionalities that were activated with the foot pedal were particularly useful.

In terms of duration, the shortest interview was conducted with Participant 18 (31 minutes), whereas Participant 6's interviews lasted the longest (69 minutes). The time average is 42 minutes.

Table 3 below encapsulates the date that it was conducted, the transcription word count, and the duration for each interview.

Participant code	Date	Word count	Duration in minutes
P1	13/11/2013	9000	49.12
P2	27/11/2013	6649	38.29
P3	29/11/2013	9259	57.35
P4	14/01/2015	4702	37.15
P5	15/01/2015	5586	38.05

Participant code	Date	Word count	Duration in minutes
P6	16/01/2015	8744	69.03
P7	16/01/2015	4532	37.25
P8	19/01/2015	6598	55.42
P9	19/01/2015	4368	37.22
P10	21/01/2015	5692	38.4
P11	21/01/2015	8042	60.3
P12	21/01/2015	6174	45.46
P13	22/01/2015	3497	28.51
P14	22/01/2015	3660	32
P15	22/01/2015	4636	37.27
P16	26/01/2015	5643	41.06
P17	26/01/2015	4267	36.09
P18	02/02/2015	4055	31.1

Table 3: Interviews' breakdown

3.5. The participants' profiles

The eighteen participants who took part in this study were all members of the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (see Chapter 2) at the time of the interviews. There were sixteen women and two men. One participant was an English native speaker, two participants had both English and another language as A languages, and the other fifteen participants had English as a B language. Most participants (fifteen) had a European Language as their mother tongue (English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, or Spanish), and three participants had a non-European language as their mother tongue (Arabic, Chinese, and Turkish). In order to preserve participants' anonymity, language combinations were not included in the participants' profile in Table 4 below, and participants' names were coded as P1, P2, etc.

All participants had passed at least one qualification recognised by the NRPSI, and they were thus on their particular register, such as the Metropolitan Police Test (P7 and P8). Most interpreters (ten) had successfully passed the DPSI Law option. Four participants had passed the DPSI Health option (including P7 and

P11 who had passed the DPSI Law option), and four participants had successfully sat the DPSI Local Government option (including P5 who had passed the DPSI Law option). Some of the participants also possessed additional qualifications such as a Bachelor of Arts in Translation and Interpreting (P1 with Law as a specialism), the Diploma in Translation offered by the Chartered Institute of Linguists (P2), while P1 and P2 had gained a Master's degree in Translation and Interpreting.

The participants' experience as public service interpreters ranged from five years to twenty years, with most interpreters (twelve) having at least ten years' experience in court interpreting. Only four participants (P4, P6, P7, and P16) had less than ten years' experience. Although an email was sent to P9 requesting this information (as it was not mentioned during the interview), they have not responded to date.

In terms of interpreting via videoconference equipment in a criminal court setting, the participants' experience ranged from only once (P4 and P13) to over ten times (e.g. P6, P18), with most participants (twelve) having interpreted on ten or fewer occasions in VCI A and/or VCI B. Some participants could not remember exactly how many times they had worked in VCI as the hearings had taken place a long time ago (P7, P9, and P17).

Overall, the participants' profile includes a wide range of experience in terms of qualification obtained, years of practice as court interpreters, VCI mode and frequency use, and whether they interpreted for defendants and/or witnesses. These are summarised in Table 4 below.

Code	Gender	Qualifications	Years of Experience	VCI A	VCI B	Frequency (verbatim comments)
P1	f	BA and MA in Translation and Interpreting	20	defendant	defendant	2
P2	f	Dip Trans/ MA in T/I and DPSI law	15	N/A	defendant and witness	4

Code	Gender	Qualifications	Years of Experience	VCI A	VCI B	Frequency (verbatim comments)
P3	f	DPSI law	12	defendant	defendant	at least 2
P4	f	DPSI law	9	N/A	witness	1
P5	f	DPSI Law and local government	15	defendant	defendant	2 or 3
P6	f	short course on police interpreting and then DPSI law	8	defendant and witness	defendant	between 10 and 20
P7	f	Metropolitan Police Test, DPSI law and health, also short courses with CloL	6	defendant	N/A	quite a few times
P8	f	Met test	13	defendant and witness	N/A	5
P9	f	DPSI law	Not specified	defendant	N/A	many times
P10	m	DPSI health	10	witness abroad	N/A	10 cases (i.e. about 50 hours)
P11	f	DPSI law and health	12	N/A	witness	2
P12	f	DPSI law	18	defendant	N/A	About 6
P13	m	DPSI Law	20	N/A	defendant in prison	1
P14	f	DPSI law	14	defendant	witness	up to 10
P15	f	DPSI local government	20	defendant	defendant	3
P16	f	DPSI local government	5	defendant	witness	About 4

Code	Gender	Qualifications	Years of Experience	VCI A	VCI B	Frequency (verbatim comments)
P17	f	DPSI local government	20	Witness in prison	defendant	quite a few times
P18	f	DPSI health	12	defendant	defendant	about 10

Table 4: Participants' profiles

4. Conclusion

This chapter has been dedicated to establishing the methodology and research design that underpin this doctoral thesis. As was discussed in Section 1, many studies in Information Systems using ANT as a methodology do not clearly identify their ontological and epistemological stances. Parallels were drawn with ANT-led research carried out in Translation Studies. For this reason, the first section's aim was to establish ANT's ontology and epistemology, to highlight potential methodological difficulties, and to put forward solutions that align with ANT's ontology and epistemology. Then, Section 2 reviewed the use of semi-structured interviews as a data collecting method within qualitative research. It was argued that such a method was a valid research tool within Interpreting Studies, and more specifically when the participants' role perception forms the study's focus. Keeping in mind this study's epistemology and ontology, Section 2 also explained how semi-structured interviews were to be conducted in accordance with ANT. Finally, Section 3 detailed the research design. It explained how ethical approval was obtained, and how participants were then recruited. It described how role-space and *Translation* were operationalised into interview pointers that were tested and validated during the pilot study. The use of NVivo as a research tool to enhance the analysis reliability, transparency, and validity of results was asserted. The interview medium was also discussed, and the benefits of conducting interviews via Skype or in face-to-face were highlighted. The need for a level 3 transcription was explained, and this section then concluded by providing a summary of the participants' profiles.

Now that the argument has been made for the validity of this project's methodology and research design, the next chapter goes on to analyse the eighteen interviews through the prism of role-space.

Chapter 5: Analysing the participants' role perceptions through role-space

As discussed in the previous chapter, a pilot study was first carried out with three interpreters (P1, P2, and P3) between 13/11/2013 and 29/11/2013, which led to a further fifteen participants (P4 to P18) being interviewed between 14/01/2015 and 02/02/2015. This chapter aims to provide a thematic analysis of the participants' perceptions of their role⁵³; hence, this chapter will be divided into four parts. First, Section 1 will present the background information that was provided by the participants in order to contextualise the settings in which they had interpreted via videoconference systems. Sections 2 and 3 will analyse the court interpreters' perceptions of their role-spaces in VCI A and VCI B, respectively. In line with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s work, each section will assess the interview data through the prisms of presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management. Finally, P10 and P12 in VCI A, and P13, P14 and P17 in VCI B did not perceive their role-space as one 3-D model, unlike the other thirteen participants. Instead, they created two 2-D or 3-D models. For this reason, their role-spaces will be analysed separately in Section 4.

1. Background

All the participants in this study reported on their experience in Magistrates' and/or Crown Courts in England. However, it is interesting to note that some of the participants (e.g.: P1, P10, P11, and P16) reported that the use of VCI was not limited to court settings, and that they had interpreted in such a mode in other legal (police stations, Asylum and Immigration Tribunals, solicitors' offices) and non-legal (business negotiations and conference interpreting) settings as well.

As far as court interpreting is concerned, all the participants reported on cases where the defendant or the witness for whom they were interpreting was located in England. However, some participants added that witnesses were also located in other European countries, usually in cross-border cases (P17 and P10).

When interpreting in court, half of the interviewed interpreters (P1, P3, P5, P6, P14, P15, P16, P17, and P18) had experience in both VCI A and VCI B. However,

⁵³ As mentioned previously, an individual and in-depth analysis for each participant's role-space(s) in VCI A and/or VCI B is available in Appendix A.

P7, P8, P9, P10 and P12 on the one hand, and P2, P4, P11, and P13 on the other, had only experienced VCI A or VCI B, respectively. Some participants also indicated that they had also used VCI as well as face-to-face interpreting during the same assignment. For instance, when interpreting for a witness in VCI B, P4 indicated that she had also had to interpret in face-to-face mode between the witness and a representative from the Witness Care Unit or the Crown Prosecution Service before and after the court hearing. Similarly, P18 stated that she had interpreted before and after the hearing between the solicitor and the defendant in face-to-face mode, as the solicitor had been present in the prison. Although interpreters work in VCI mode, this can also be combined with interpreting face-to-face between some of the parties at some point during a court assignment.

In terms of the type of hearing, all participants reported that in Magistrates' or Crown Courts, VCI hearings were used for pre-trial hearings (such as plea and case management hearing, or bail application) and sentencing and/or appeal hearings. As a result, they all stated that the VCI hearings were short. However, P1 believed that short trials could also be interpreted in VCI for the benefit of the defendant. In contrast, P2 mentioned that they had used VCI to interpret in trials, but only to interpret for witnesses giving evidence, and P14 believed that VC equipment had never been used to interpret for a defendant during a trial hearing, as the process was too lengthy, and the defendant may have been less engaged. Furthermore, some participants reported that they had interpreted in VCI during conferences between the defence team and the defendant (e.g.: P3 or P18), or the witness and the Crown Prosecution, immediately before or after the court hearing (e.g.: P4 or P16). Overall, it appears that the use of VCI may be limited to short administrative or sentencing hearings, or to conference meetings immediately before or after hearings.

During these court hearings, be it in VCI A or VCI B, some interpreters (e.g. P5, P6, P7, P8, P12, P14, P16, and P17) reported that they had been able to interpret in consecutive mode only. They argued that there were two reasons for this: either they had interpreted during a witness statement and/or cross examination, and in such a situation, consecutive mode was always used, even during face-to-face hearings; or, as P7 mentioned, consecutive interpreting was the default mode

since interpreting in simultaneous mode would have meant that the defendant, for instance, would have heard both the English and Other Language input at the same time. Nevertheless, other interpreters (P1, P3, P11, P13, P15, and P18) mentioned that they used both simultaneous and consecutive modes when interpreting during VCI A and B hearings. The reason for using both simultaneous and consecutive modes was that participants felt that they had to either replicate the face-to-face setting that would occur in court by default, or, as mentioned by P18, the participants' speedy delivery pace and/or the interventions' length made it impossible to take notes. Interestingly, whether they interpreted in VCI A or B, it seems that the interpreting practice differs between the participants, as do the reasons for opting for consecutive or simultaneous interpreting.

When interpreting, the participants reported that in VCI A, they were sitting next to the prosecution barrister (P1), the defence barrister (P2), the judge (P9), or on their own (P12). In VCI B, they all reported that they were sitting next to the defendant or witness. Some of them (P2, P11, P15, and P17) added that in such a setting, the room in which they found themselves tended to be small, which had often made them feel uncomfortable (e.g.: P2). The general picture, then, is that all the participants with experience in VCI B confirmed that they had been positioned next to the Other Language Speaker; the use of VCI A, however, gleaned different experiences where the interpreter was positioned in various places in the courtroom. Interestingly, and as discussed in Section 2 below, P1 raised concerns regarding her position in court, and the impact it has on her perceived impartiality. Although other participants (P2, P9, and P12) also noticed that their position differed from a face-to-face court hearing, they (P2 and P12) did not raise any concerns, or they (P9) stated that their position in VCI A made it easier to hear court participants. Furthermore, it appears that the position as to where the interpreter should sit was decided by the judge (P9 and P12), and by the court layout and its constraints (P1)⁵⁴.

⁵⁴ P1 states that the choice as to where the interpreter can sit is limited by the fact that microphones are fixed to the tables. She mentions that as she needed to be near a microphone so that the defendant could hear her, and as the only available location was next to the defence party, the judge asked her to stand next to the defence barrister.

Finally, the participants suggested that VCI was used in order to save court time and reduce legal costs (e.g.: P1, P9, P10, P12, and P18), notably in cases where the witness was located far away from the court (P17). Some participants also mentioned that a VCI hearing helped witnesses feel more at ease by not having to face the defendant in court (P2 and P14), and it could also improve security (P1), especially in cases of counter-terrorism (P2). P1 added that the use of VC equipment put less pressure on court logistics, as the defendant did not have to be transported to court or be fed at lunch time. All in all, the participants believed that there were various benefits to conducting court hearings via VC equipment. They also reported, however, that VC systems had some negative effects, and these are analysed in more depth in Sections 2, 3, and 4 below.

To conclude, it seems that VC equipment is used in various legal and non-legal settings, and the participants identified several benefits to using such systems. However, for the sake of this piece of research, it is solely the participants' perceptions in Magistrates' and Crown Court settings that are included in this analysis. Some participants also identified that parts of a VC assignment was interpreted in face-to-face; the impact that this had had on their role perceptions will be identified below. Furthermore, the use of VCI was limited to short and most often pre-trial hearings, during which they had interpreted in consecutive and/or simultaneous modes. Finally, it appears that interviewees were always sitting next to the defendant/witness in VCI B. However, their positions in VCI A differed between the participants, which had had different impacts on their role perceptions, and this is analysed in the following sections.

2. The participants' perceptions of their role-space in VCI A

All participants with experience in VCI A believed that their presentation of self was low when interpreting in this mode, except P1 and P8 whose presentation of self was very low. In terms of participant alignment, four participants (P5, P6, P14, and P15) perceived that they aligned equally between the actors present in court and the defendant on the other side of the screen. However, the remaining eight participants (P1, P3, P7, P8, P9, P16, P17, and P18) aligned towards the

participants in court⁵⁵. Finally, interaction management was the axis where the results obtained varied the most. P1 had a very low interaction management, whilst for P3, P7, and P17 it was low. P6's interaction management was quite high, compared to P5 and P9, whose interaction management was deemed high. However, P8, P14, P15, P16, and P18's interaction management was more fluid, and it ranged from very low/low to quite high/high. Table 5 below summarises these findings.

	Presentation of self	Participant Alignment⁵⁶	Interaction Management
P1	Very low	> Court	Very low
P3	Low	>Court	Low
P5	Low	Equal	High
P6	Low	Equal	Quite high
P7	Low	> Court	Low
P8	Very low	> Court	From low to high
P9	Low	> Court	High
P14	Low	Equal	From low to high
P15	Low	Equal	From very low to high
P16	Low	> Court	From low to quite high
P17	Low	> Court	Low
P18	Low	> Court	Low to quite high

Table 5: Summary of the participants' role-space in VCI A

2.1. Presentation of self

As mentioned above, the participants' presentation of self was polarised between a very low (P1 and P8) and a low (P3, P5, P6, P7, P9, P14, P15, P16, P17, P18) presentation of self.

2.1.1. Very low presentation of self

⁵⁵ In this study, "court participants" refers to all the participants taking part in the hearing, on both sides of the screen, whereas "participants in court" only refers to the legal actors that are physically present in the courtroom.

⁵⁶ The sign ">" designates the side towards which the participant is aligned.

P8 had been sworn-in in court, but the defendant on the other side of the screen had not seen the process. She argued that it had not been obvious to the defendant that she was the interpreter. Although she had been sworn-in in front of the participants in court, she still believed that the whole process had been “disorientating (...) for both sides” (P8: L91). She added that by not being physically present with the defendant, she felt that she had lost the opportunity to introduce herself, and to verify whether she could understand the defendant, and vice-versa. Similarly, P1 stated that she could have been “the court cleaner, (...) the woman with the microphone” (P1: L455-6) as she had not been introduced at the start of the hearing. For these two participants, it appears that VC equipment affected their ability to introduce themselves or be introduced as the court interpreter.

Furthermore, P8 did not think that she had been seen as being impartial, but she did not believe that this was a concern, as, according to P8, being seen as impartial would have been more important during interviews at police stations. However, P1 believed that as she had been standing next to the prosecution barrister, the defendant had not seen her as an impartial actor in court, which she raised as a concern during the interview, and her presentation of self as an impartial court agent was reduced.

Overall, then, P1 and P8’s presentation of self was very low as they could not have introduced themselves and/or been sworn-in when all the parties had been present. Furthermore, P1’s presentation of self was also affected as she believed that she had not been perceived as an impartial court actor.

2.1.2. Low presentation of self

P3, P5, P6, P7, P9, P14, P16, P17, and P18 stated that they had been sworn-in, and the process had taken place before the connection had been made with the other location (P3 and P17), or when the link with the remote party had been established (P18). On the other hand, P15 had not been sworn-in, but she had shown her NRPSI card to the court, and she had been able to introduce herself to the defendant. Although their experience regarding the oath process differed, that is whether the participants had been sworn-in or not, or whether the remote party could have seen such a process, their presentation of self had not been affected,

as had been the case with P1 and P8 above. This is due to the fact that they reported that they had introduced themselves to all the parties, before and/or at the start of the hearing, as requested by the judge or the legal advisor. For instance, P18 remembered that the camera had focused on her so that she had been able to introduce herself to the defendant, and she had verified that they understood each other. It was also reported by P7, P9, and P16 that they had been able to introduce themselves to the remote party during the conference meeting with their solicitors/barristers before the hearing. Therefore, all the above participants had been able either to be introduced or to introduce themselves as the court interpreter.

Some of the participants also stated that they were known by some or all of the parties. For instance, P6 had worked for the same participants in court on a previous case, and she believed that they all knew her. P9 also stated that she had interpreted previously for the defendant at the police station. Similarly, P17 reported that the witness knew her, as she had interpreted for him on another case where he had been a suspect. Therefore, some participants' previous encounters helped them ensure that all the participants knew that they were the court interpreters when VC systems were used.

The court interpreter as an impartial actor was a recurring theme in some interviews. P6 and P7 believed that it was easier to remain impartial in VCI A as they were not spending "unnecessary time" with the defendant (P7:L137-8), when the latter would usually ask questions such as "What's going to happen?" or "Is it better for me to plead guilty or not guilty?" (P6: L177-8). According to P5, the judge introduced her as an impartial actor. As such, she believed she was perceived as impartial by all the participants. Finally, P17 and P18 stated that VCI A would not have impacted on their impartiality in any way, as court interpreters always had to remain impartial. Unlike P1's beliefs above, the use of VC equipment had no impact on these participants' perception of impartiality.

Regarding trust, P5 felt that the court trusted her as the court interpreter. She also believed and asserted that, although establishing a relationship of trust with the defendant had been more difficult at first, trust had not been an issue during the

hearing. None of the other participants reported on this. In general, then, the use of VC equipment did not affect P5's perception of trust.

Finally, these participants believed that it was obvious for all the other participants that they were the court interpreters. For instance, P5 indicated that as she had been interpreting at the front of the courtroom, and not in a dock, she felt that she was "probably more noticeable" (P6: L369). Similarly, P7 and P9 believed that it was evident that they were the court interpreters as they could be seen interpreting. Therefore, the use of VC systems did not have an impact on their ability to be perceived as the court interpreter.

Overall, P3, P5, P6, P7, P9, P14, P15, P16, P17, and P18's presentation of self was low as they had been sworn-in and/or had introduced themselves to, or been introduced to all the court participants. It also appears that impartiality or trust was not impaired by the use of VC equipment, and they believed that all the other participants knew that they were the court actors. These findings contrast with P1 and P8's perception of their role as they had not been sworn-in or introduced to all the participants, and P1 even raised concerns regarding impartiality.

Their presentation of self can be summarised as follows:

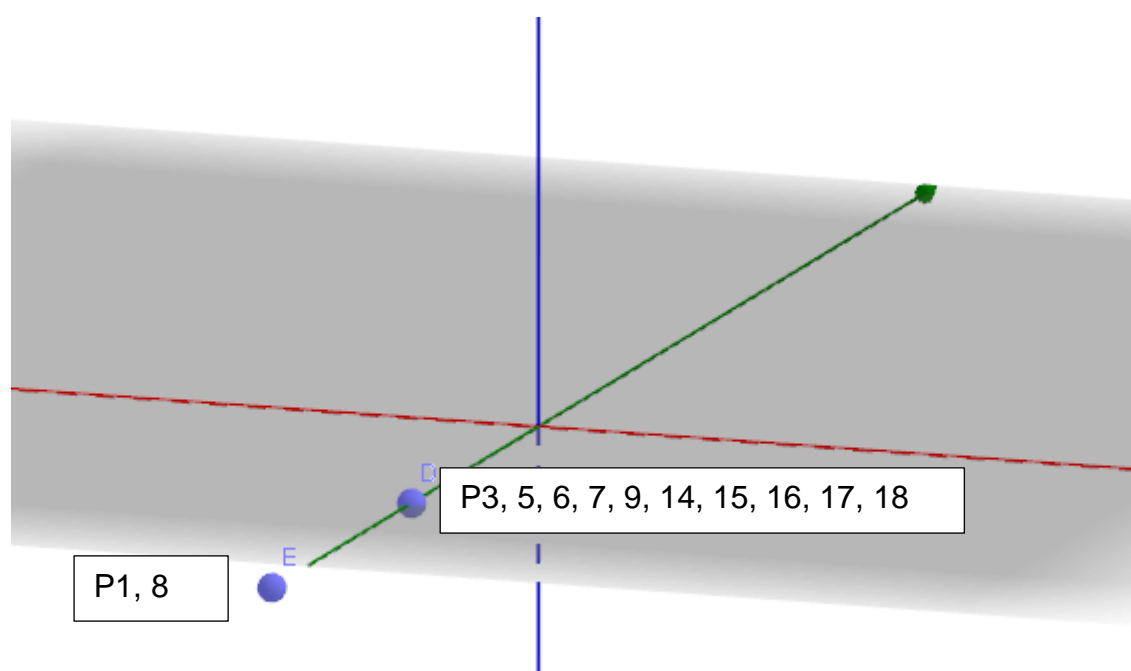


Figure 5: Presentation of self in VCI A

2.2. Participant alignment

The findings reveal that the participants in this study aligned either equally with all the court participants (P5, P6, P14, and P15), or they aligned more towards the participants in court (P1, P3, P7, P8, P9, P16, P17, and P18). No participants reported that they had aligned more towards the defendant or witness during a court hearing in VCI A⁵⁷.

2.2.1. Equal alignment

In terms of the interpreter's ability to hear and see the remote party, P5, P6, and P15 reported that the sound quality was sometimes poor due to echoes. As a result, P5 believed that it may have taken more effort to interpret, and P6 had had to inform all the parties of the sound difficulties. No participant reported that the sound or picture quality had been so poor that they could not interpret. However, it was noted by P15 that the quality of sound and picture was also very good in some cases, which could suggest that it may be more appropriate to conduct VCI hearings in certain courtrooms rather than others due to their acoustics and equipment.

Despite reporting some sound and/or picture issues, P15 was able to replicate the participants' body language and tone of voice. She felt as if she was acting in a movie, and she was complimented by the participants in court for replicating the body language. Although noting the importance of body language, P5 stated that she was not able to read the defendant's body language, but this did not affect her, and "everybody was happy" at the end (P5: L136). Similarly, P6 commented that the use of VC equipment seemed to reduce her ability to read the defendant's body language. However, she noted that this could have been due to the fact that in her own culture, people were less expressive. She also noticed that the defendant tended to be calmer when he appeared on a video-link. She explained that this could be due to the fact that he was not produced in court, or he had to focus more in order to listen to what was being said. However, she was able to read their facial expressions, which she had used as a feedback mechanism to verify that the defendant understood what the other parties said, or whether or not

⁵⁷ P6 aligned more towards a witness during a pre-hearing meeting. As this did not occur during the hearing (the defendant pleaded guilty at the start of the hearing), her account is not included in this chapter. However, an analysis of her participant alignment and her role-space in this situation can be found in Appendix A.

she had to adapt her speed. It seems that although the use of VC equipment may have reduced their ability to read the remote participants' body language, this did not impact on these participants' perception of the interaction.

P5 reported that the use of VCI did not impact on her ability to intervene and explain cultural differences, at which time she informed all parties on each side of the screen. Interestingly, P14 did not report on any cultural differences, but she explained that this could be due to the fact that the hearings had been very short. Therefore, it would have been less likely that she would have to intervene to explain any cultural specific terms. It seems, in fact, that the use of VC equipment did not impair P5's ability to intervene, but as such equipment is used for short hearings, the need to explain cultural differences might occur less often (P14).

VCI used mainly for short hearings was also reported by P6, which meant that the defendants had been less abusive or less likely to make rude comments to the judge or the prosecutor, as they did not "have time to be wound up" (P6: L232). Despite the hearings being short, P6 was still able to explain some aspects of her role, notably the fact that she would not have been able to interpret simultaneously. She reported that it had actually been easier not to over-align with the defendant as he had not been standing next to her. It seems that P6 was able to benefit from the fact that the hearings were conducted in VCI in order to not over-align with the defendant.

Overall, P5, P6, P14, and P15 had aligned equally between the members present in the courtroom and the remote party. Even though they reported some technical issues, these had not had any impact on their abilities to interpret. Furthermore, as P6 indicated, the physical distance could enhance the equal alignment between participants as it could prevent the interpreter from over-aligning with the defendant.

2.2.2. Aligning more towards the court

As regards technical issues, P3 and P9 reported that the sound quality used to be poor and echoing. However, thanks to technical advances, they noticed that the equipment had greatly improved. P1 also experienced some difficulties with the sound quality, and she compared it to a "mausoleum" (P1: L497) as the sound had been echoing. Nonetheless, P1, P3, and P9 added that they had been able to

interpret. P17 claimed that when the sound was poor, she had to ask the defendant to repeat some information (and she also had to repeat information to the defendant). She argued that it all depended on “the link-up and how good the connection was” (P17: L116). Asking for repetitions could also have arisen from the fact that she always encouraged the witnesses to seek clarification if they did not understand or hear her. P9 also reported that the sound quality could be poor if the defendant “had a strong foreign accent” (P9: 136). P8 reported that the sound and picture quality in court had been good. However, she believed that the defendant could not see her well as there were several superimposed pictures on his screen in prison. As a result, the faces of the participants in court must have been quite small. For this reason, she felt that she had not been able to receive feedback or back-channel to the defendant. Finally, P7 stated that it was easier to hear the proceedings in VCI A than in a face-to-face hearing, as when she was in the dock, she felt that “court participants don’t care if you can’t hear anything” (P7: L158). However, she reported that if there had been technical issues in a VCI A hearing, such issues would also have been apparent to the court staff, and they would have “ma[d]e an effort to fix it” (P7: L154). It appears that the use of VC equipment had only some limited impact, if any at all, on their ability to hear and see the remote party.

With regard to body language, P8 reported that she had not reproduced the body language. As the defendant appeared on the screen, the court “could see the gesturing of the person on camera” (sic, P8: L213-4). Instead, she had focused on rendering the content of the hearing, and preserving the participants’ tone. Similarly, P16 stated that she would not rely on the defendants’ body language as “some people would go over the top and [she] was not gonna dance round” (sic, P16: L169). She also stated that she did not pay any attention to the participants’ tone, but she maintained the register. She argued that this was particularly problematic as some defendants came from different ethnic minorities, and they were poorly educated. On the other hand, P9 believed that it was easier to read the defendant’s body language in VCI A, due to the wide screen in front of her. In this case, it was easier to read his facial expressions than if he had been standing next to her. Finally, P1, P3, P7 and P18 reported that the absence of feedback mechanisms had been problematic. P1 stated that she had not been able to read

the defendant's body language, and this had partly reduced communication between the parties. She realised then the extent to which she had been relying on body language in face-to-face interactions in order to obtain feedback. For P7, VC equipment had reduced the possibility to obtain feedback and "you are not absolutely certain that the non-English speaker can understand what you are saying, the way you are interpreting, and what people are saying in court" (P7: L167-9). Similarly, P18 believed that it was more difficult to read the defendants' body language on screen, and as a result "you don't get the instant response from them or confirm whether they understand" (sic, P18: L148-51). She also believed that the defendants were not able to experience the court atmosphere. As a result, the interaction must have been more uncertain for them as they were unsure of "what's behind, what's on the other side of the screen" (P18: L148-51). Overall, the use of VC equipment and its impact on reading body language to obtain feedback or to backchannel affected the participants in varying degrees. Some participants (P8 and P16) did not rely on the defendant's body language, whilst P9 believed that it was easier to read his body language and obtain feedback due to the use of widescreens. However, P1, P3, P7 and P18 reported that it had a negative effect on the interaction.

Furthermore, P7 reported that it was more difficult to interpret cultural references because of the physical distance between her and the defendant, and P18 concurred with this. The other participants in this study did not raise any concerns, which would suggest that there was no need to intervene to explain cultural differences. However, it seems that the use of VC equipment affected other aspects of the participants' ability to interpret. P7 indicated that it had not been possible to interpret all the hearing content to the defendant because she had to work in consecutive mode, and she was not given the time to interpret. She interpreted the main points only, and the court participants did not raise any concerns. P8 also perceived that her ability to interpret had been impaired, as she had not introduced herself to the defendant. As a result, she could "not tune in" (P8: L91) in order to "zoom in to the way these people speak and mak[e] sure that [they] underst[ood] [each other]" (P8: L142-3). Finally, P1 stated that due to the absence of proximity, she had not been able to adapt the terminology to the needs of the defendant. It appears that the use of VC equipment had impaired some

aspects of their interpreted rendition to the defendant, whether it was explaining cultural differences (P7 and P18), giving a full rendition (P7), or adapting their output to the needs of the defendant (P1 and P8).

It was also reported that VC equipment had an impact on the witness or defendant's ability to intervene, or on the interpreter's ability to establish a working relationship with the remote party. P16 believed that the defendant had been more reluctant to intervene as he had been located on the other side of the screen. On a similar note, P17 felt that "the video-link was a bit false" as the defendant or witness "was not really part of the proceedings" (P17: L190-2). P1 also spoke of difficulties in establishing a working relationship with the defendant, and she compared him to a statue, as he had not been taking part in his hearing. However, it is worth noting that P9 believed that it was easier for the defendant to intervene as he was in a location with which he was familiar (the prison), rather than being in an unknown court environment. For this reason, she believed that the defendant intervened more. However, P9 claimed that the sitting arrangement in court "was more familiar because [she] was sitting next to the judge and the lawyer" (sic, P19: L186-7) and she felt that it was "like a family. [They were] sat all together, [her], the judge..." (P9: L265). It appears that the physical distance affected the participants' ability to align with the defendant, except for P9. However, in her case, the proximity with the participants in court made her over-align towards them rather than towards the defendant on the other side of the screen.

Overall, the above participants aligned more towards the people in court than the remote party. For some, this was due to the negative impact that the use of a VC system had on their ability to hear/see the defendant or to read body language to obtain feedback or backchannel. They also reported that VC equipment had a negative impact on some verbal aspects of the interaction (e.g. cultural differences, interpreting all the verbal content, or adapting their terminology). This meant that they aligned more towards the participants in court as the use of the VC system reduced their possibility to align with the defendant. However, the reason P9 aligned more towards the participants in court is different. She did not report on her inability to align with the defendant, but on the physical proximity with the participants in court which made her over-align towards them.

Figure 6 below summarises the participant alignment in VCI A.

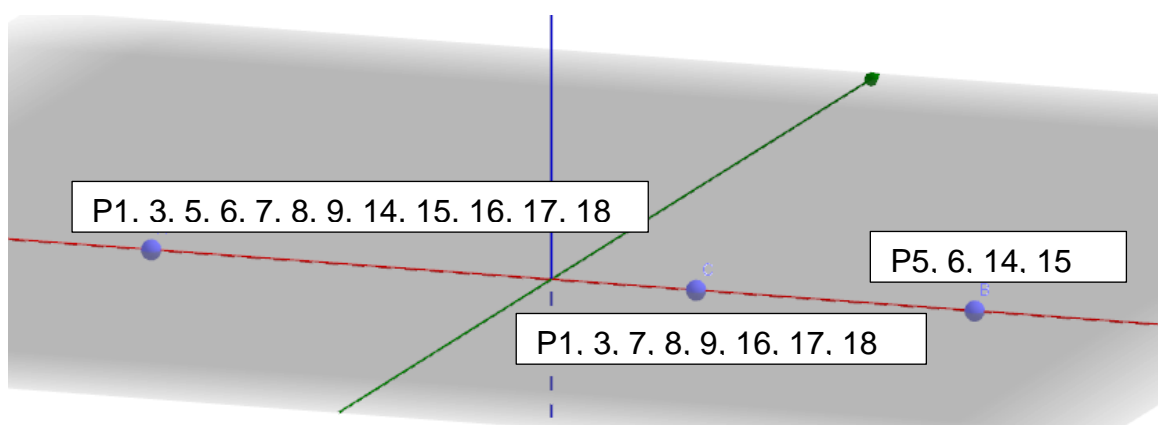


Figure 6: Participant alignment in VCI A

2.3. Interaction Management

Interaction management was the axis that gathered the most diverging opinions amongst the interviewees. There was a clear split between participants who perceived their interaction management as a fixed entity, and those who perceived that their interaction management had evolved alongside a continuum, as discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, this sub-section first analyses the participants' fixed interaction management, which was categorised as very low (P1), low (P3, P7, and P17), quite high (P6), and high (P5 and P9). It then examines the other participants' interaction management (P8, P14, P15, P16, and P18) that has been assessed alongside a continuum that ranged from very low/low to quite high/high.

2.3.1. Interaction management as a fixed entity

Some participants perceived that their interaction management had been either very low, low, quite high, or high.

2.3.1.1. Very low interaction management

P1 reported that the need to ask for clarification or repetitions had not arisen because the defendant had not been engaging, and he had been very divorced from his hearing. She also believed that VCI made any dyadic exchange with the defendant impossible. She argued that the defendant could not have intervened during the hearing as he "[would have] interfered with the court proceedings and he would [have been] told off" (P1: L521-2). She added that in any case, the

defendant would not have known how to interact via video link. This meant that the use of VC equipment eliminated any need to manage the interaction. All in all, P1's interaction management was very low.

2.3.1.2. Low interaction management

P7 believed that it was more daunting at first to ask for repetitions in VCI A, but she then added that such situations could be compared to interpreting during a witness statement, and interpreters should become accustomed to it. She also noted that overlapping speeches had happened, which was due to the fact that it was an administrative hearing, and that in such types of hearing, judges and lawyers "get caught up" (P7: L205). When this occurred, P7 did not interrupt the parties. Instead, she took notes of the main points, which she interpreted to the defendant when there was a break. Similarly, P3 felt that due to the use of VC equipment, it was more difficult to raise concerns with the defendant on the other side of the screen when they encountered technical difficulties. She also believed that the defendant was less likely to interact. Worth noting is that P7 also believed that the use of VC equipment made the defendant less likely to interrupt the hearing. And finally, P3 and P17 did not encounter any dyadic exchange or overlapping speeches during the hearings.

Overall, then, P3, P7, and P17's interaction management was low. This was due to either their reluctance to intervene, or the fact that intervening was less likely as a result of the use of VC systems (and the non-engagement of the remote party).

2.3.1.3. Quite high interaction management

P6 stated that overlapping speeches was "a big problem and people in court [were not] aware", and they carried on speaking (P6: L136). She said that it made her feel uncomfortable because it was impossible for her to interpret two speeches in consecutive mode, and she could not interpret simultaneously either. Interestingly, she did not interrupt the interaction to raise any concerns. However, she noted that it was easier to manage some other parts of the interaction. When experiencing sound-related issues, P6 felt that she had to ask for repetitions. To do this, and as she was standing in the front row, "everyone [could] see [her]" (P6: L255), and it was easier to establish eye contact, or exchange a smile with the judge or the clerk, and they interrupted the party speaking by saying "Please don't

forget that we have an interpreter here” (P6: L314). If this strategy did not work, she would then raise her hands, and if still unsuccessful, she would then intervene verbally. In any case, she “never felt that they thought it [had been] an unnecessary interruption” (P6: L298). Overall, and despite not being able to control overlapping speeches, P6’s ability to manage the interaction remained quite high as she managed to intervene to actively seek clarification and repetitions.

2.3.1.4. High interaction management

P5 reported that she operated in VCI as she usually did in face-to-face. During dyadic exchanges with one party, she informed the other party of the question asked or comment made, and as mentioned previously, she intervened to inform parties of any cultural differences. She also mentioned that usually people in court would speak in turn. However, it happened that the defendant intervened whilst one party was speaking in court. In such situations, she stopped the party speaking in court in order to interpret the defendant’s question. She also added that if the barrister interrupted her, then she would ask him to wait until she had finished interpreting. In such circumstances, she stated that she would seek permission from the judge before taking any action. Similarly, P9 reported that she was able to ask for clarification or repetitions, and in fact, she “didn’t find any difference”, compared to face-to-face hearings (P9: L194). In her introduction she encouraged the defendant to interrupt her. What is interesting and contrary to what the other participants in this study reported, is that she indicated that the defendant was very willing to intervene when they had not understood; and in such cases she interrupted the court proceedings (P9: L164). It therefore appears that P5 and P9’s interaction management was high with all the parties.

2.3.2. Interaction management as a continuum

Unlike the participants above, P8, P14, P15, P16, and P18 perceived that their interaction could be expressed on a continuum, which overall ranged from very low/ low to quite high/high.

2.3.2.1. From very low to high

P15 did not report any need to manage the interaction. This could arise from the fact that she hardly interpreted during the VCI A hearing. It could also be due to the fact that she was instructed by the judge to interpret only at the end of the hearing. The judge summarised the points that were discussed, and she then interpreted them to the defendant. However, P15 also argued that she would have intervened to seek clarification or repetition, if she had had to do so. She believed that the use of VC equipment would not have impacted on her ability to manage the interaction. Hence, her interaction management ranged from very low to high.

2.3.2.2. From low to quite high

P16 and P18 believed that the use of VC equipment had no impact on their need to ask for clarification or repetitions, when required. In fact, P18 stated that there was no difference, whether the hearing took place in VCI or in face-to-face mode. However, the need to ask for clarification and repetitions was lower in VCI than in face-to-face. They also both reported that dyadic exchanges or overlapping speeches did not occur in court, as the defendant would have been too nervous or overwhelmed (P18), or, as P16⁵⁸ stated, the defendant showed enough respect to the court not to intervene. In general, their interaction management was low, as the need to seek clarification and repetitions was reduced by the use of VC equipment. However, they also perceived that they would have been able to manage some parts (repetitions and clarification), had they had to do so. This means that they perceived that their interaction could have been quite high, if the need had arisen.

2.3.2.3. From low to high

P14 stated that the need to manage the interaction was low as the hearings had been short, and it was easier to hear the court's questions in VCI A than in VCI B. Although there had been no need to interrupt to provide any cultural explanation, she believed that it would have been possible. She believed that the use of technology had had no impact on her ability to manage the interaction. P8 shared a different experience. She stated that she used to think that she was not allowed

⁵⁸ It is worth noting that P16 experienced overlapping speeches when interpreting in VCI A between the defendant in prison and the solicitor's office. When this occurred, she managed the interaction by interrupting the defendant.

to manage the interaction, and used to define her role in line with the conduit model. However, since reading Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s work, she said that she had become more pro-active in managing interaction. To some extent, interpreters "had to be [more proactive] because [interpreters] have to prevent miscarriages of justice" (P8: L254-5). She believed that defendants may have been less involved in the hearing, compared to face-to-face or during a trial. However, she managed to intervene to ask for repetitions, or clarify any misunderstandings, confusions, or loss arising from the fact that she may not have had the time to interpret. She intervened by referring to herself as 'the interpreter'. She also stated that she would always "give precedence to whatever the defendant [was] saying because [she was] his voice in the end" (P8: L237-8). To summarise, it appears that P14 and P18's interaction management ranged from low to high as the need to intervene was reduced by the use of VC equipment, but they had intervened/could have intervened when they felt that they had to do so.

Overall, it appears that interaction management provided the most varied results. Some participants perceived their interaction management as a fixed entity, and the use of VC equipment had impacted on their interaction management differently (P1, P3, P5, P6, P7, P9, and P17). P8, P14, P15, P16, and P18 perceived that their interaction management was very low/low, usually as they had not had the need to manage it. However, they all agreed that they could have done so, had the need occurred, which meant that they perceived their interaction management as a continuum of options that they can call upon when needed. These findings can be summarised as follows:

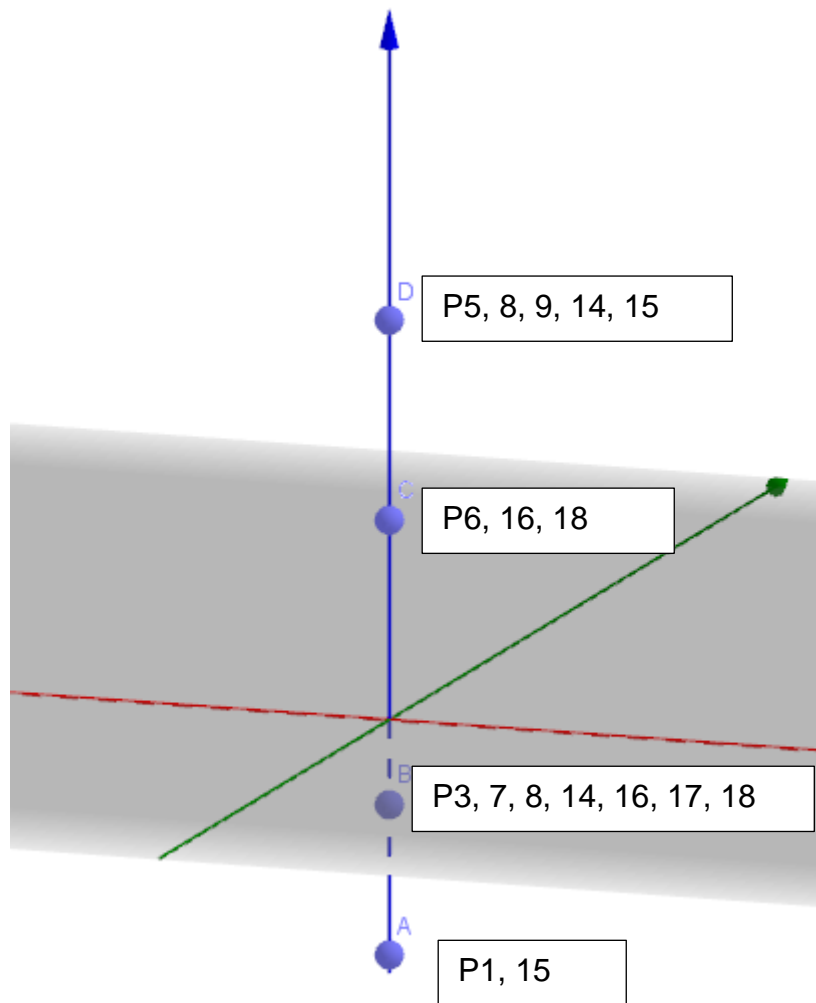


Figure 7: Interaction management in VCI A

To conclude, the participants' presentation of self, alignment, and interaction management varied in VCI A. It is interesting to note that no participants reported that their presentation of self had been quite high/high. Instead, their presentation of self had been either very low or low. Furthermore, all the participants had aligned either equally with all the parties or more towards the co-present party. However, it appears that no participants aligned more towards the remote party. Finally, the interaction management provided various results, which were based on three main factors: (1) the extent to which the participants believed that the use of VC equipment reduced their abilities to intervene, (2) the extent to which they believed that VC equipment reduced the need to intervene, and (3) the difference between what they had been doing in court, and what they perceived they could have done in court. Following the same analytical approach, the next section examines the participants' role-spaces in VCI B.

3. The participants' perceptions of their role-space in VCI B

All the participants with experience in VCI B believed that their presentation of self was low when interpreting in this mode, except P1, for whom it was very low. In terms of their participant alignment, most participants (P1, P2, P5, P6, P15, and P18) aligned equally with all the court participants, whereas others (P3, P4, P16) aligned more towards the defendant or witness with whom they had been physically located. It is worth noting that P11's participant alignment changed during the interaction. She aligned equally with all the participants at the start of the hearing (P11(1)), and then she aligned more towards the witness (P11(2)). Finally, and in keeping with VCI A's findings, interaction management is the axis for which the participants' perceptions obtained vary the most. Some participants perceived their interaction management as a fixed entity, and this was classified as either low (P1), quite high (P4 and P6), or high (P3, P5, and P11). Other participants (P2, P15, P16, and P18) perceived that their interaction management was more fluid, and it evolved alongside a low to quite high/high continuum. Table 6 below summarises these findings.

	Presentation of self	Participant Alignment	Interaction Management
P1	Very low	Equal (low)	Low
P2	Low	Equal (low)	Low to quite high
P3	Low	>Defendant	High
P4	Low	> Witness	Quite high
P5	Low	Equal	High
P6	Low	Equal	Quite high
P11(1)	Low	Equal	High
P11 (2)	Low	> Witness	High
P15	Low	Equal	Low to high
P16	Low	> Witness	Low to quite high
P18	Low	Equal	Low to quite high

Table 6: Summary of the participants' role-space in VCI B

3.1. Presentation of self

As mentioned previously, most participants' presentation of self (P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P11, P15, P16, P18) was low, with the exception of P1, for whom it was very low. This section examines in more detail the factors that determined their presentation of self.

3.1.1. Very low presentation of self

Similarly to her VCI A experience, P1 was not sworn-in in VCI B. In fact, she questioned how an interpreter could be sworn-in when interpreting from a prison. She hypothesised that due to the difficulty of being sworn-in, this could be the reason why this set-up was not used as often as VCI A. The procedures that clearly indicated that she was the interpreter were missing (i.e. being sworn-in in front of everyone, walking back to the back of the room to sit next to the defendant, introducing herself to him). She argued that "the whole process sets out some boundaries and sends out certain signals. I am missing all of that" (P1: L446-7). She also stated that VCI B could impair impartiality. Whilst they were waiting for a connection to be established with the courtroom, the defendant wanted to speak. She felt uncomfortable as "if I am sat in a dingy little room and we've been waiting for two hours for the video-link to get going, I am just going to seem to be just damn right rude if I don't chat" (P1: L381-3). She also stated that VCI B could impact on the interpreter's safety, as she was sitting with the defendant and only one guard. Furthermore, the defendant could find out personal information about the interpreter. As it happened to her once in face-to-face, a defendant managed to obtain enough information to then find her personal phone number. Overall, her presentation of self was very low during the hearing. However, it may have been higher when talking with the defendant before the start of the VC hearing.

3.1.2. Low presentation of self

P3, P4, P5, P11 and P16 reported that they were sworn-in at the beginning of the VCI B hearing. P4 and P11 also indicated that when they interpreted in VCI B from a room adjacent to the courtroom, they were given a card on which the oath was written (P4) or a Bible (P11). Finally, P18 could not remember whether or not she had been sworn-in. However, she believed that she had been, otherwise the court "wouldn't [have] known why [she had been] there" (P18: L246-7). Overall, the use

of VC equipment did not impact on these participants' ability to be sworn-in at the beginning of the hearing.

Although P2, P6 and P15 stated that they had never been sworn-in, this did not affect their presentation of self, as they managed to introduce themselves/ be introduced to all the court participants at the beginning of the hearing.

Furthermore, the participants reported that they also had the time to introduce themselves to the defendant or witness, with whom they were located, before the beginning of the hearing. P4, P5, P6, P11, P15, and P18 had also had to introduce themselves at the beginning of the VCI B hearing, so the participants in court were aware that they were the court interpreters. As a general rule, despite some of them not being able to be sworn-in, the use of VC equipment still enabled these participants to introduce themselves as the court interpreter to all the court participants.

In terms of impartiality, P4, P15 and P18 asserted that their impartiality had not been impaired by the use of VC systems. However, P11 expressed some concerns in terms of perceived impartiality from the participants in court due to "the proximity" between her and the witness, and the fact that participants in court "[had] not seen [them] separate" (sic. P11: L399-400). To restore some kind of impartiality she "put her chair slightly different, at an angle rather than sitting parallel with [the witness]" (sic. P11: L418-9). All in all, the use of VC systems had had a very limited impact on perceived impartiality.

As the use of VC equipment still enabled P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P11, P15, P16, and P18 to be sworn-in and/or introduce themselves/be introduced as the court interpreter, their presentation of self was low, unlike P1 who had not been able to go through the same process.

The participants' presentation of self in VCI B can be represented as follows:

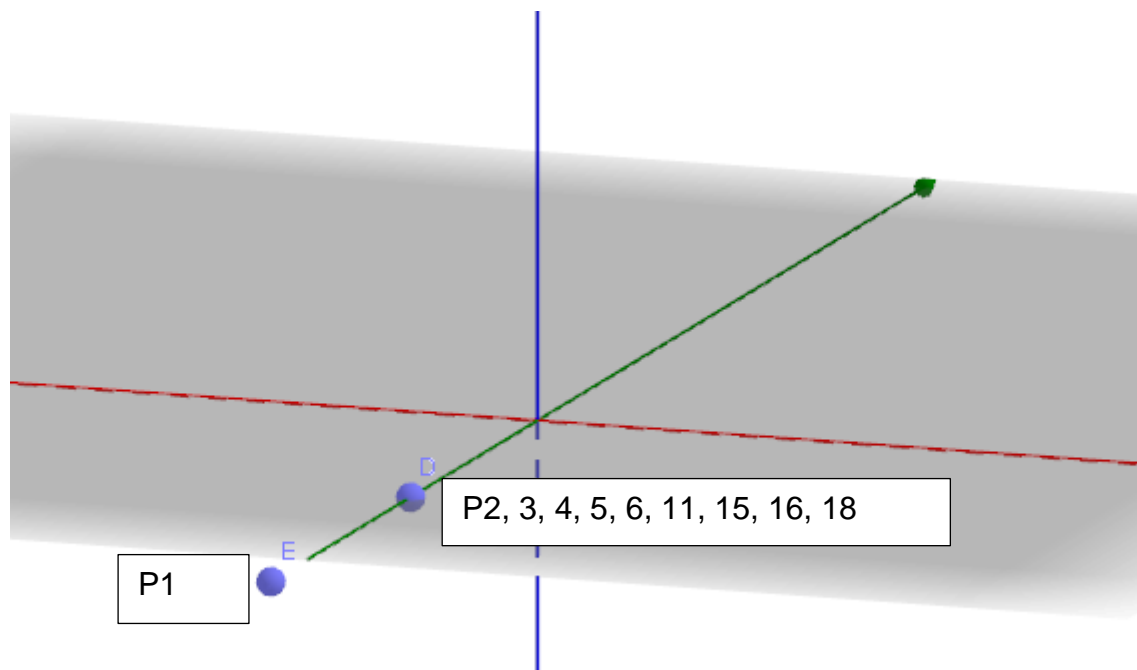


Figure 8: Presentation of self in VCI B

3.2. Participant alignment

The results in this study reveal that the participants with experience in VCI B aligned either equally with all the court participants (P1, P2, P5, P6, P11(1), P15, and P18), or they aligned more towards the defendant/witness (P3, P4, P11(2), and P16). No participant reported that they had aligned more with the court on the other side of the screen.

3.2.1. Equal alignment

The participants did not report any concerns regarding the sound/picture quality. However, P6 had to request that the position of the camera be adjusted, as she was standing up, and the court could not have seen her otherwise. Although P5 indicated that she had encountered some difficulties with the sound, these were overcome by asking for repetitions. Therefore, the use of VC equipment had no impact on the sound/picture quality for some of them, or when this had occurred, the interpreters were still able to interpret.

Furthermore, P5, P11, P15, P16, and P18 stated that they were able to replicate the body language, tone, and/or register, although P15 added that it may have

been more difficult to do so⁵⁹. P6, meanwhile, made the useful observation that the court participants tended not to express themselves through their body language, and she believed that they had in fact been more static as a result of the use of VC equipment. Overall, the use of VC equipment still enabled the participants to replicate the body language, tone, and register when needed.

P5 reported that dyadic exchanges happened in VCI B. However, this took place before the start of the hearing. The defendant had asked her questions, and she replied that she could not “be involved in giving advice or personal things. [She was] just an interpreter” (P5: L289-90), thus avoiding over-aligning with the defendant. P5 did not report any dyadic exchange during the hearing. She added that this would occur only when she was left alone with the defendant. However, P6 stated that the defendant had been brought in at the start of the hearing. In such a case, the chance for the defendant to engage in a dyadic exchange would be greatly reduced. It appears that the use of VC equipment in VCI B could encourage defendants to engage in dyadic exchanges, if they were brought in before the start of the hearing.

In terms of receiving feedback, P6 stated that she was able to see on the screen that participants in court had understood her performance. P18 also said that she preferred interpreting in VCI B instead of VCI A, as it was easier to receive feedback from the defendant. Indeed, too, P15 received some positive oral feedback from the court as they were very satisfied with her performance. It seems that the participants’ feedback mechanism was not affected in VCI B.

These participants were able to hear and see the proceedings on the other side of the screen; they replicated the body language, tone, and/or register, and some of them received feedback or intervened. Therefore, they were able to align equally amongst the participants.

P1 and P2 aligned equally between the parties. However, their alignment scope differed from P5, P6, P11(1), P15, and P18’s alignment. Indeed, P1 felt very uncomfortable being near the defendant. She argued that although there was a prison officer present in the room, such a setting still raised concerns over safety.

⁵⁹ She compared this situation to acting in a movie, and although it may have required some effort, she was able to communicate the body language, tone and register successfully.

Similarly, P2 felt very uncomfortable being close to the defendant, and being in a small room, which made her feel claustrophobic. P1 also stated that she felt uncomfortable in relation to participants in court due to the absence of proximity with the court staff and the "imbalance of numbers" with all the other court participants being on the other side of the screen (P1: L325-6), a feeling that was also shared by P2. Finally, both participants also reported that it was not possible to read body language or feedback to the participants in court, and that the defendant or witness did not participate in the hearing. For these reasons, although they aligned equally between all the parties, the scope of P1 and P2's participant alignment was reduced by the use of the VC equipment.

3.2.2. Aligning more towards the defendant/witness

Although P16 indicated that she did not experience any issues regarding body language, P3 and P4 stated that they found it difficult to replicate it as the screen was too small, or they were unsure what the participants in court would see. Interestingly, during the hearing, P11(2) deliberately chose to hide from the camera, hence severing any visual link with the parties in court and any possibility of replicating any body language. Regarding the sound and picture quality, P16 did not report any issues, and P4 stated that she was able to hear the proceedings, although the camera focused only on the person speaking, and not the whole court. P4 also believed that it would have been more difficult to render cultural differences as it would take more time on account of the use of VC equipment. However, P3, P4 and P16 established a rapport with the defendant or witness. P4 stated that she had had to keep the witness calm, and she had explained to her the interpreting process (P4: L243-6), whilst P16 tried to make the witness feel more "comfortable" (P16: 282). Furthermore, the participants felt that they were not able to establish a rapport with the participants in court. P4 felt that they had forgotten about her and the witness in the other location. This compares with the experience of P16, who reported that in VCI B she had forgotten that there were people listening in court due to the fact that she had been located in a very small room. Overall, it appears that body language, sound quality and rendering of cultural differences may have been affected, in varying degrees, by the use of VC equipment. However, the above participants aligned more towards the defendant or the witness as they were able to establish a rapport with the

parties with whom they were physically present, something they were not able to replicate with the participants in court.

The participant alignments can be modelled as follows:

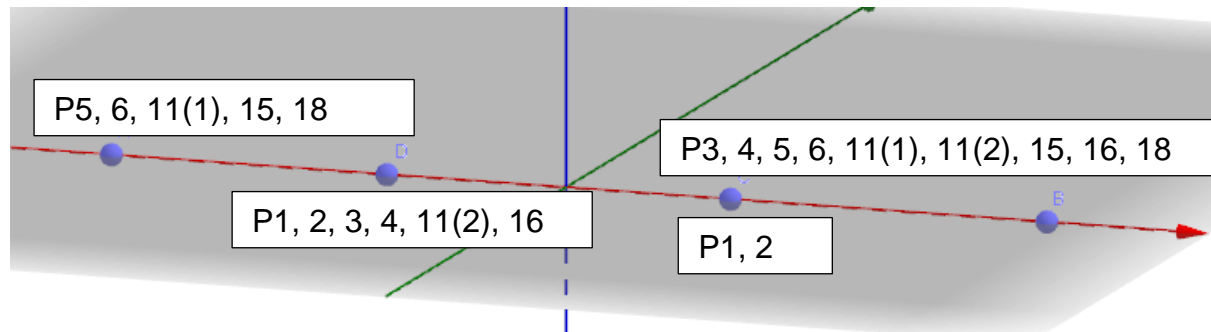


Figure 9: Participant alignment in VCI B

3.3. Interaction Management

As to the participants' interaction management in VCI B, their interaction management in VCI B provides the most varied perceptions. Some participants perceived their interaction management as being low (P1), quite high (P4 and P6), or high (P3, P5, P11). However, P2, P15, P16, and P18 perceived that their interaction management had ranged from low to quite high/high.

3.3.1. Interaction management as a fixed entity

Some participants perceived that their interaction management was fixed, and that it was low, quite high, or high. The next sections analyse in more depth the factors that influenced their perceptions.

3.3.1.1. Low interaction management

P1 felt that it was more difficult to ask for clarification and repetitions in VCI B, compared to face-to-face court settings. Nonetheless, she did not raise it as an issue with the court. However, it was easier for her to manage dyadic exchange in this setting than in VCI A. She asserted that the defendant tended to be very quiet whilst the hearing was taking place. This contrasts sharply with the experience she had before the start of the hearing. She reported that the defendant had been more talkative, and that he had tried to “fraternise” with her by asking questions

such as “Where are you from? Did the barrister say anything?” (P1: L307-9). Generally speaking, her interaction management was low.

3.3.1.2. Quite high interaction management

P4 and P6 reported that they did not engage in dyadic exchanges with the other language speaker as either they had questions that were interpreted at the end of the hearing (P4), or the defendant was brought in at the beginning of the hearing, so any opportunities to engage in such an exchange were very limited (P6).

Regarding overlapping speeches, P4 noted that there were no overlapping speeches. She acknowledged that these would happen in face-to-face when:

Sometimes the defence lawyer is so aggressive and asks a hundred million questions at once. And before the witness can even answer or even during when he answers, the defence lawyer interrupts sometimes (sic. P4: L230-3).

She stated that in VCI B, the court “must have taken into consideration that it was through video-link, and (...) it was well organised” (P4: 222-5). However, she managed part of the interaction by requiring that the court participants spoke in smaller chunks. Finally, P6 did not perceive any difference, compared to face-to-face hearings, and she indicated that she sought clarification or repetitions, for instance. However, the need to do so was lower as the defendant was less engaged in his hearing, compared to when they were in the dock. Overall, P4 and P6’s interaction management was quite high, as they were able to manage some parts of the interaction; but since VC equipment had been used, this happened less than when they interpreted in a face-to-face context.

3.3.1.3. High interaction management

P5 and P11 stated that they both had to ask participants on the other side of the screen to repeat as there were some technical issues with the quality of the picture and/or the sound. Similarly, P3 had to ask the court to speak louder, and she asked for repetitions. P11 also mentioned that she had to ask the witness to speak louder, which she signalled with a gesture of her hand. Despite the technical difficulties encountered, P3, P5, and P11 still sought repetitions or gave participants instructions so as to be able to interpret.

Although these participants did not report any dyadic exchange, they indicated that they had to manage overlapping speeches. Indeed, P5 reported that the defendant had questions when participants in court were speaking, to which she replied “Please don’t talk, I am listening” (P5: L290). However, when the person speaking in court had finished, she notified the court that the defendant had questions, and she interpreted them. Similarly, P11 said that the witness was disputing what the defence barrister was telling the court. In that case, P11 said to the court on the other side of the screen: “The interpreter has requested that the witness does not speak at the same time” (P11: L381-2). She also noted that participants in court spoke at the same time. When this occurred, she said, “the interpreter cannot interpret when more than one person is talking because the interpreter cannot hear one person over the other” (P11: L385-6). Finally, P5 also had asked the court to “interpret one sentence at a time because of the distance” (P5: L221-2), so that she could interpret. Overall, P3, P5 and P11’s interaction management was high as they intervened to seek clarification, and they managed turn-taking with all the parties, regardless of their locations. P5 was also proactive at the start of the hearing, and she gave instructions to all the participants.

3.3.2. Interaction management as a continuum

As with P8, P14, P15, P16, and P18 in VCI A, P2, P15, P16, and P18 perceived that their interaction management ranged from low to quite high/high.

3.3.2.1. From low to quite high

P2 and P18 stated that the need to ask for clarification and repetitions did not arise during their VCI B hearings. However, as P18 stated, there was “no particular constraint” (P18: L282), and she would have done so if needed. Furthermore, P2 mentioned that she obtained some feedback from the participants’ body language, which confirmed that they had understood, but she felt that she was not able to advise the court regarding the length of their interventions⁶⁰. P16 stated that she sought repetitions, but that the need to do so was less than in a face-to-face interaction. These participants also stated that they

⁶⁰ P2 stated that she would usually inform the court that they should not chunk their interventions. Instead, she advised the court to give her a full sentence before she would interpret.

had not encountered any dyadic exchange during the VCI B hearing, nor did they have to manage overlapping speeches. This was because the solicitor was present in prison (P16). On the whole, these participants felt that they could have managed some parts of the interactions (clarification and repetitions) but that the need to do so may have been reduced due to the use of VC equipment. However, they believed that they would have had the opportunity to intervene, if needed. Therefore, their interaction management ranged from low to quite high.

3.3.2.2. From low to high

P15 reported that there was no need to ask for clarification or repetitions as the hearing was “quite clear and straightforward” (P15: L182). However, she also stated that she would have asked if she had needed to do so. In fact, she stated that she was “quite impressed” with the set-up, whereas she had previously thought the hearing could have been “quite awkward”, but the participants in court made the hearing “straightforward” (P15: L188-91). She also stated that in general, participants in court did not seek to enter into a dyadic exchange. However, the defendant had tried once to enter into a dyadic exchange, although she admitted that such occasions were rare in court, and that this would have been more frequent in other settings. When this occurred, she stated that:

I put them back in their place. I was saying, no, listen, (...) don't look at me, just listen, pay attention and look at the screen. And I am there for you but don't ask me questions directly. And I am here for you but don't ask me direct questions. I am only interpreting what you are saying or what they are saying. Don't ask me. (sic. P15: L202-5)

It appears that her interaction management ranged from low to high.

Overall, the participants' interaction management varied greatly. As with VCI A, some participants perceived that their interaction management was a fixed entity (P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, and P11) which was affected in various degrees by the use of VC equipment. P2, P15, P16, and P18 perceived that the use of VC systems limited factors that would usually require them to manage the interaction. However, unlike P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, and P11, they also believed that it would have been possible to manage some or all the aspects of the interaction, if the need had arisen. Their interaction management in VCI B can be represented as follows:

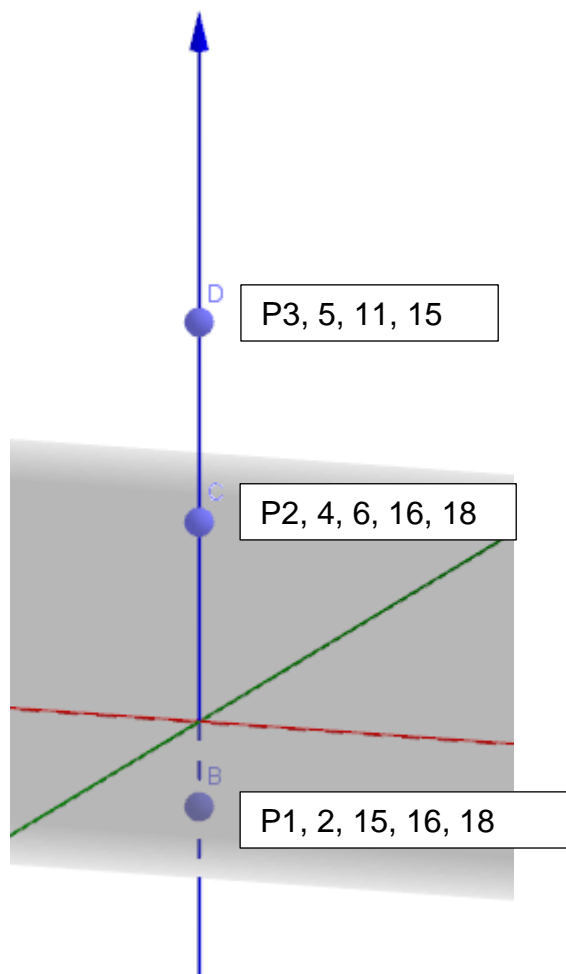


Figure 10: Interaction management in VCI B

To conclude, the participants' presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management varied. As with the results in VCI A, no participant reported that their presentation of self had been quite high or high during the court hearing. Furthermore, no participant aligned more towards the remote participants in court. Instead, they aligned either equally or more towards the witness/defendant with whom they were physically present, and only P11's alignment changed during the court hearing. Finally, as per the participants' experience in VCI A, their interaction management provided the most varied results that were affected by their perception of VC equipment on their ability to intervene, the need to intervene, or the perceived difference between what they had/could have done.

4. A split role-space

P10 and P12 in VCI A, and P13, P14 and P17 in VCI B created two multidimensional models and not one, as the previous participants above did. This role-space duality emerged from the fact that they perceived that within the same hearing, their presentation of self and/or the interaction management with the participants in court differed from that of the defendant/witness. This section analyses in more detail their role models and the underlying reasons justifying a split role.

4.1. In VCI A

P10 aligned more towards the participants in court, and P12 aligned equally amongst all the participants. However, the presentation of self and interaction management differed significantly between the participants in court and the defendant, as summarised in Table 7 below. This sub-section analyses each of the role-space axes, and it examines the reasons justifying their role perceptions.

	Presentation of self (court)	Presentation of self (defendant)	Participant Alignment	Interaction management (court)	Interaction management (defendant)
P10	Low	Very low	> Court	High	Quite high
P12	Low	Very low	Equal (low)	Low to quite high	

Table 7: Summary of split role-space in VCI A

P10 believed that the use of VC equipment did not impact on trust or confidentiality between him and the other participants. He also stated that VC equipment improved impartiality as he was not sitting next to the defendant. He believed that “the video-link allows [him] to be there in [his] purest form” (P10: L193) in the sense that he would not have to speak to the defendant before the hearing, what he referred to as an “off-line moment” (P10: L191). However, P12 expressed some concerns, as by standing in court, she believed that she could not convey the idea to the defendant on the other side of the screen that she was impartial. This lowered her presentation of self with the defendant. In terms of introducing themselves as the court interpreter, P10 highlighted that it was more difficult with the parties not physically present in court, which was mainly due to the fact that the non-English speakers on the other side of the screen were not used to “a culture of remote” working, as English speaking countries are (P10: L119). So it appears that their presentation of self with the parties in court was

low. However, their presentation of self with the defendant on the other side of the screen was very low.

With regard to participant alignment, P10 stated that although it was more difficult to read body language, he did not feel that this was an issue as “a good work smith, a good interpreter should not rely too much on body language anyway” (P10: L228-9). He also believed that reading body language was not taught as part of the interpreting skills necessary to do the job, and that nuances could be conveyed through tones. This contrasts with P12’s experience, as she argued that she was not able to read body language, and as a result she was not able to create a bond with the defendant. In this situation P12 felt uncomfortable as she was the centre of attention in court. As for using technologies, P10 acknowledged that he had encountered technical issues, but he added that the chance that the technical issues had been such that he would not have been able to work, had been very remote. However, P10 believed that technologies mainly impacted on the defendant’s perception of his hearing as in the defendant’s country of origin “remote is associated with television, which is then associated with entertainment. (...). If it is on television, it is not true” (P10: L126-30). This raises questions as to the defendant’s perception of his hearing when VC equipment is used, and how much P10 could have aligned with the defendant. Similarly, P12 believed that the use of technologies mainly impacted on the defendant’s perception of his hearing, and he seemed very confused. However, P10 saw the fact that VC equipment restricted his alignment with the defendant as a benefit. Furthermore, as the defendant was aware that the hearing was being video-recorded, he did not engage in dyadic exchanges. However, he believed that “Anglo-Saxon parties” (P10: L121-2) were more prompt to engage in VC hearings, and it was easier to develop a rapport with the participants in court. Therefore, P10 aligned more with the court than with the defendant. This is different from P12’s participant alignment which was equally low with both sides as she was not able to establish a bond with the defendant, and she felt very uncomfortable being the centre of attention in the court.

In terms of interaction management, P10 believed that the use of VC equipment did not impact on his ability to manage the interaction with the participants in court. However, his interaction management with the other side was even slightly lower

as “giving the conversation a rhythm [had been] much more difficult” (P10: L220) with the defendant. On the other hand, P12 stated that she would have asked for repetitions and clarification, if it had been necessary. However, she said that it would have been “a bit more uncomfortable, even more than in face-to-face” (P12: L220). Furthermore, she believed that due to the physical distance, there were no dyadic exchanges or any opportunities to ask direct questions. As a result, it appears that her interaction management ranged from low to quite high.

The role-space models below represent P10 and P12⁶¹’s role perception in VCI A.

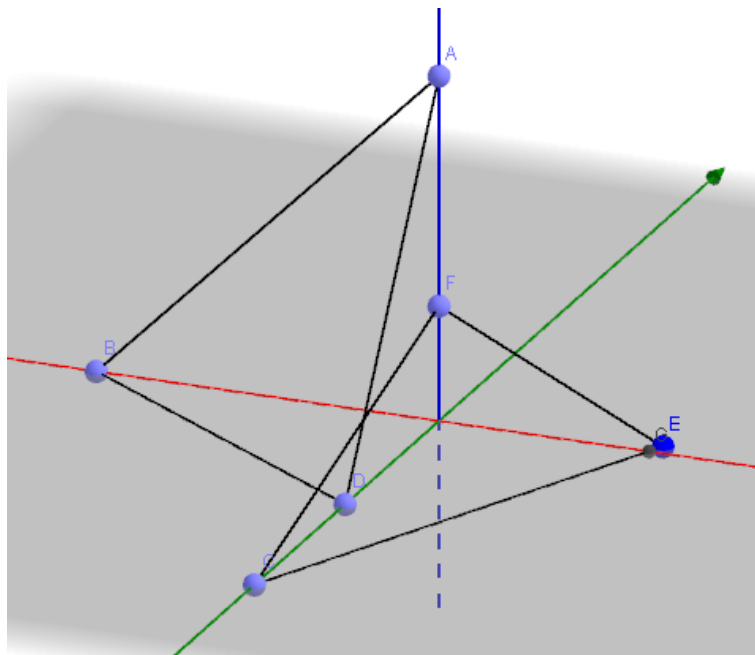


Figure 11: P10's role-space model in VCI A

⁶¹ P12 created two 3-D role-space models. In order to preserve the model’s readability, it was decided to split them into two graphs: one representing her role-space model with the participants in court, and one with the defendant (Figure 12).

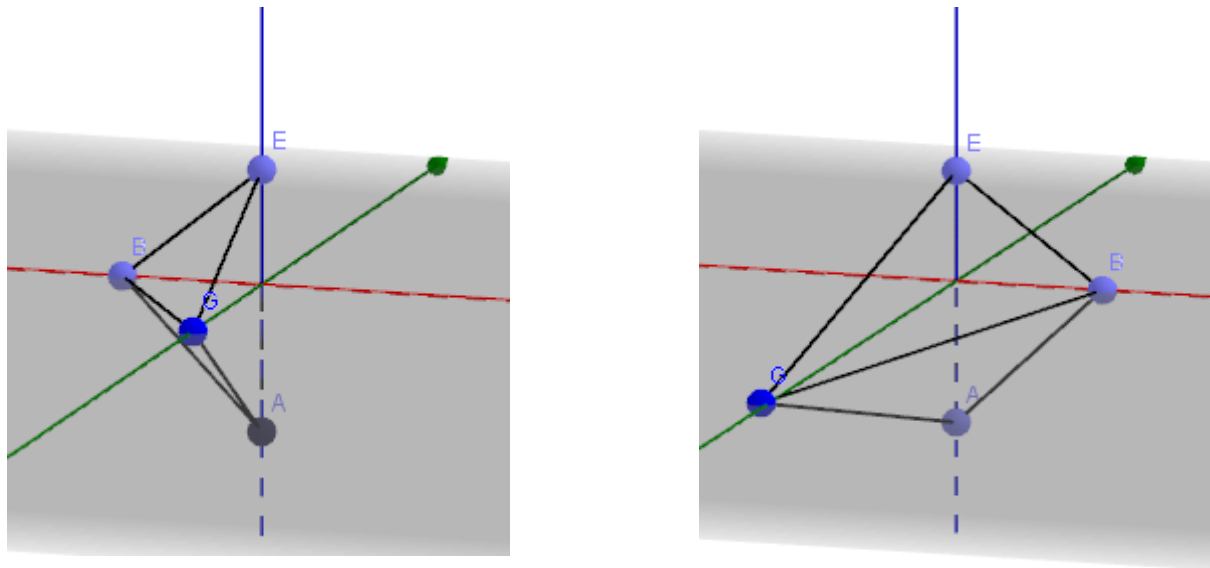


Figure 12: P12's role-space model with the court (left) and the defendant (right) in VCI A

4.2. In VCI B

P13, P14 and P17's presentation of self was similar, in other words very low with the court and low with the defendant. However, their participant alignment and interaction management differed significantly, as summarised in Table 8 below. This sub-section analyses each of the role-space axes, and it examines the reasons justifying their role perceptions.

	Presentation of self (court)	Presentation of self (defendant)	Participant Alignment	Interaction management (court)	Interaction management (defendant)
P13	Very low	Low	> Defendant and solicitor	Very low	Quite high
P14	Very low	Low	Equal	Low to quite high	
P17	Very low	Low	Equal (low)	Low to high	

Table 8: Summary of split role-space in VCI B

P13 could not remember whether or not he had been sworn-in, and if the defendant had been present. P14 said that she had been sworn-in, but at a later stage when she interpreted in the courtroom for another witness. However, P17 asserted that she had not always been sworn-in in VCI B. Although their

experience regarding taking the oath differed, they all had the opportunity to introduce themselves to the defendant. However, they added that they were not able to introduce themselves to the participants in court. P13 and P14 also said that VC equipment did not have any impact on impartiality. Nevertheless, P13 questioned the notion of trust. He believed that using VC equipment would have made it more difficult to establish an atmosphere of trust with the court. Overall, it appears that P13, P14 and P17's presentation of self was low with the witness/defendant as they had the opportunity to introduce themselves as the court interpreter. However, it was very low with the participants in court as the introduction/oath process had not taken place, and in the case of P13, trust could have been called into question.

In terms of participant alignment, their perceptions differ. They all stated that they had not encountered any cultural references during VCI B hearings, but P14 and P17 added that they would have intervened and explained it if it had occurred. However, unlike P14 and P17, P13 believed that it would have been quite difficult to interrupt the judge or the other barristers, had he had to intervene.

Furthermore, P13 believed that the picture quality was not important as long as he could hear all the court actors. He reported that in VCI B, the quality of sound had been good when the defendant had been asked questions. However, it was more difficult to hear what the participants in court were saying when the barristers and the judge debated points of law. P17 stated that she could not be seen by all the participants in court, and she preferred this. Similarly, she added that she had not been able to see all the participants in court. Therefore, her experience was hindered by the fact that she had not been able to read the participants' body language, and it had an impact on her, making her feel undervalued or seen as a mouthpiece. Similarly, P14 was able to see only the defence counsel when they cross-examined the witness, which she preferred as she was then able to focus on only one person.

Moreover, the proximity to the defendant or the lack of proximity with the participants in court also affected P13, P14 and P17 differently. P13 said that being close to the defence, and more specifically to the defendant's solicitor made it easier for him to seek clarification. However, P17 was on her own with the

defendant. She reported that she felt uncomfortable because she was sitting too close to the defendant. She also made the important point that this would not have been an issue in face-to-face, as other people would also have been present in the room. She added that this uncomfortable feeling would also depend on the offence that the defendant had allegedly committed. Regarding P14, she felt that she had to concentrate more due to the lack of proximity, but the parties were very “accommodating” (P14: L98), and she was able to seek some clarification.

All in all, P14 aligned equally with the parties; so did P17, but her alignment was low with both parties as she had not been able to read the court participants’ body language, and she felt uncomfortable with the defendant. However, P13 aligned more with the party with whom he was physically present due to the close proximity.

Finally, P13’s interaction management was very low with the participants in court as, although he had encountered difficulties hearing parts of the court interventions, he did not intervene to notify them of the issue. However, his interaction management with the solicitor and the defendant was quite high as he was able to call upon the solicitor to attract the judge’s attention, in case he needed clarification. His account differs significantly from P14 and P17’s experience; the latter were able to seek clarification and repetitions with participants in courts, but the need to do so with the defendant was lower as he had been quieter because of the “novelty” (P17: L253). Interestingly, P14 believed that dyadic exchanges or overlapping speeches would not have happened in a court setting, whereas P17 believed that dyadic exchange still happened but not as often as in face-to-face. For these reasons, their interaction management ranged from low to quite high (P14) or high (P17).

The role-models below represent P13, P14 and P17’s role perception⁶² in VCI B.

⁶² As per P12’s model above, and in order to preserve readability, P14 and P17’s role-space models have been split into two.

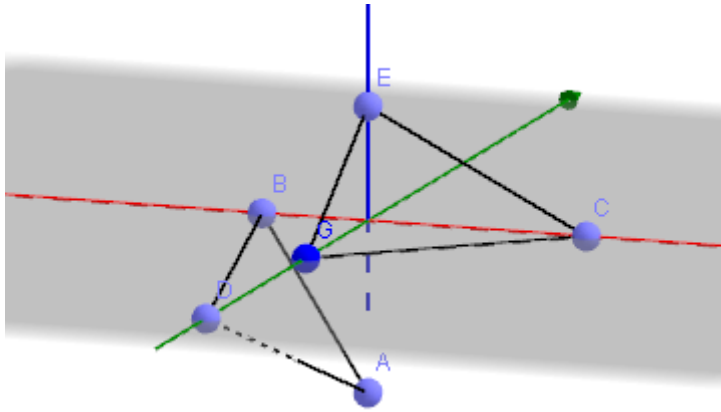


Figure 13: P13's role-space model in VCI B

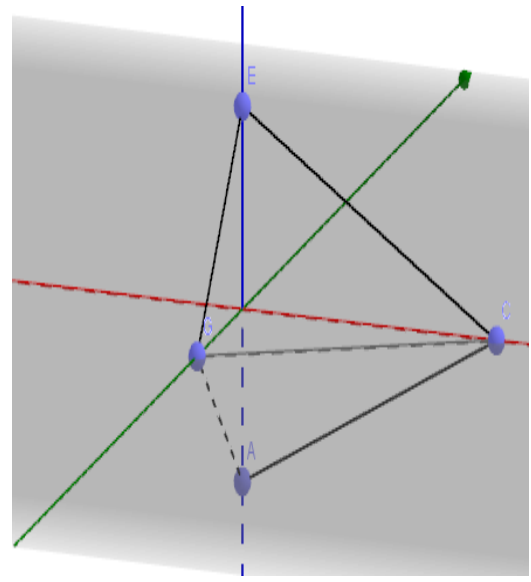
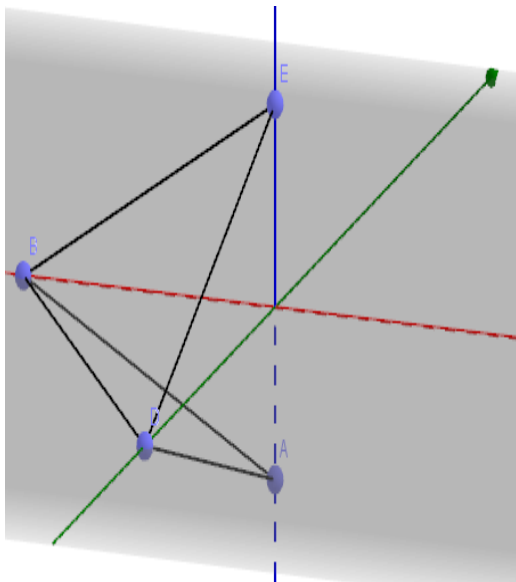


Figure 14: P14's role-space with the participants in court (left) and the witness (right) in VCI B

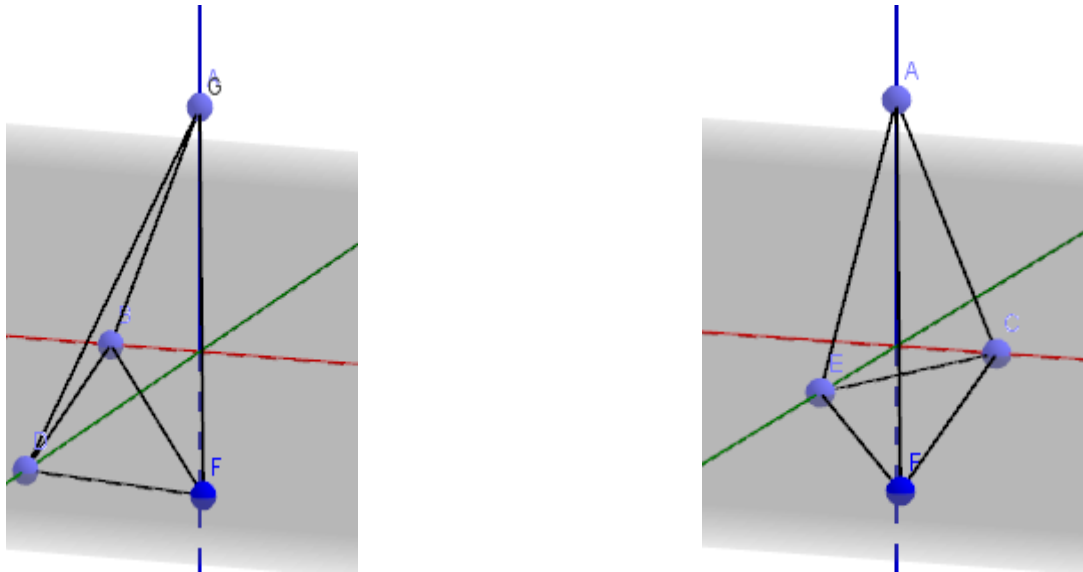


Figure 15: P17's role-space model with the participants in court (left) and the defendant (right) in VCI B

The overall picture, then, is that P10 and P12 in VCI A, and P13, P14, and P17 in VCI B experienced a presentation of self that differed between the participants in court and the defendant or witness in the other location. They all perceived that their presentation of self was low with the parties with whom they were present, whereas it was very low with the parties on the other side of the screen. According to their experience in VCI B, the use of VC equipment meant that they were not sworn-in and/or introduced to the party on the other side of the screen.

Furthermore, they aligned either equally with all the parties, or more towards the party with whom they were present. No participant reported that they aligned more towards the remote party. Finally, their interaction management ranged either from low to quite high (P12 and P14) or high (P17), or was perceived as a fixed entity by P10 and P13. It is noteworthy that, in the case of P10 and P13, the use of VC equipment hindered their interaction management between the parties differently, and it was always higher with the parties with whom they were physically present.

5. Conclusion

P1, P3, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9, P14, P15, P16, P17, and P18 in VCI A, and P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P11, P15, P16, and P18 in VCI B created similar role-space models in the sense that their presentation of self was very low or low. They also aligned equally between the participants or more towards the party with whom they were physically present. However, it seems that the interaction management

gathered the most divergent opinions in both VCI A and VCI B. Their models differ from P10 and P12 in VCI A, and P13, P14, and P17 in VCI B as these participants created not one but two multidimensional role-space models. It is also worth noting that participants with experience in VCI A and VCI B created different role-space models, depending on whether they were in court or with the remote defendant/witness⁶³. These differences were based on the participants' perception of VC equipment, and how it may have limited, for some, certain aspects of their role-space. These differences merit exploration in more depth, and the next chapter will analyse the role that technologies play in building the court interpreter's perception of their role.

⁶³ To the exception of P5 and P6. These differences are discussed in more depth in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6: Data analysis through Actor-Network Theory and *Translation*

As discussed in Chapter 5, the eighteen court interpreters who took part in this study showed different perceptions regarding the court interpreter's role in VCI. Drawing on their perceptions, this chapter aims to analyse how their role perception was negotiated amongst the court actors, and whether the participants deployed any strategies so as to ensure that the other court actors would adopt the participants' role perceptions. To shed more light on this, this chapter analyses the interviews with the eighteen participants through the prism of Actor-Network Theory, and more specifically through the sociological construct of *Translation* (c.f. Chapter 3). In the same vein as Callon (1986)'s study, the analysis that follows was framed within the four phases of *Translation*, namely: problematisation, interessement, enrolment, and mobilisation.

1. Problematisation

Callon (1986, p. 6) defines the problematisation phase as the moment where the actor "determined a set of actors and defined their identities in such a way as to establish themselves as an obligatory passage point in the network of relationships they were building." Anchored within this definition, this section first establishes a list of court actors that were determined by the eighteen participants. It then analyses how they defined the court interpreter's role. Then, and in order to complete the problematisation phase, the extent to which the eighteen participants define themselves as obligatory passage points in the networks that they created will be examined.

1.1. Actors present in VCI court hearings

Depending on whether the hearing was taking place in a Magistrates' or Crown Court, the participants identified the magistrates or the judge, and the solicitors or the barristers (for the Crown Prosecution and the defence), respectively, as being actors present in court. Some participants did not mention any other actors. This could be due to the fact that the hearing "was only a short one, like a preliminary" hearing (P5: L168). Some also mentioned the court clerk (P8) and the usher or list caller, who according to P7 is the person "technically in charge of the video link" (P7: L215-6). In addition to these court actors, all the participants with experience

in VCI A also identified, for this mode, the defendant or the witness in another location, who was located either in a prison (for the defendant), or in an adjacent room to the court or another courtroom (for the witness). Some also mentioned the probation service (P6) or the defendant's family (P15), and P7 stated that there could be other solicitors, barristers, and/or interpreters waiting for their cases to be heard.

When interpreting in VCI B, all the participants also identified the defendant/witness being co-present with them. Furthermore, P15 identified "all the rest, the professionals" (P15: L84) on the other side of the screen. She defined them as the prosecution, the solicitors, and the judge. P4 added the court clerk to the list of people present in the court room. Furthermore, some participants mentioned the prison staff (P13 or P1), whilst others referred to the prison officer (P5 or P17). However, one participant mentioned that the prison officers were, in fact, waiting outside the VCI room (P3). P13 and P18 also stated that they were with the defence solicitor in prison, whilst P6 claimed that sometimes trainee solicitors would also accompany the defence solicitor. P11 stated that she was with the witness on her own, whereas P14 was also with a member of staff from the Witness Service. P4 also mentioned that a member of staff from the Witness Service and an IT technician were present. However, they left the room at the start of the hearing, and she was then on her own with the witness. Finally, P2 was not only with the witness, but also with a social worker, and a police officer during the VCI B hearing. It therefore appears that the participants' networks include many actors, with the judge/magistrates, solicitors/barristers, and defendants/witnesses being present in each participant's VCI A and VCI B networks.

Although the above list refers to human actors, the participants identified non-human entities in both VCI A and B. They all listed the microphones, speakers, screens, and cameras, which formed the basic equipment needed to conduct a VCI hearing. Some participants also overtly referred to the NRPSI's *Professional Code of Conduct* (e.g. P1, P3), whilst others did not name the code specifically, but they referred to some of the *Professional Code of Conduct's* tenets such as confidentiality or impartiality (P15, P18). Unlike the other participants in this study,

P3 referred to several codes of conduct to which she adhered⁶⁴. However, she claimed that they were very similar in terms of content. Finally, they all mentioned the oath that the interpreter is expected to take at the beginning of the hearing.

The actors identified by the participants can be summarised in Figure 16 and Figure 17 below.

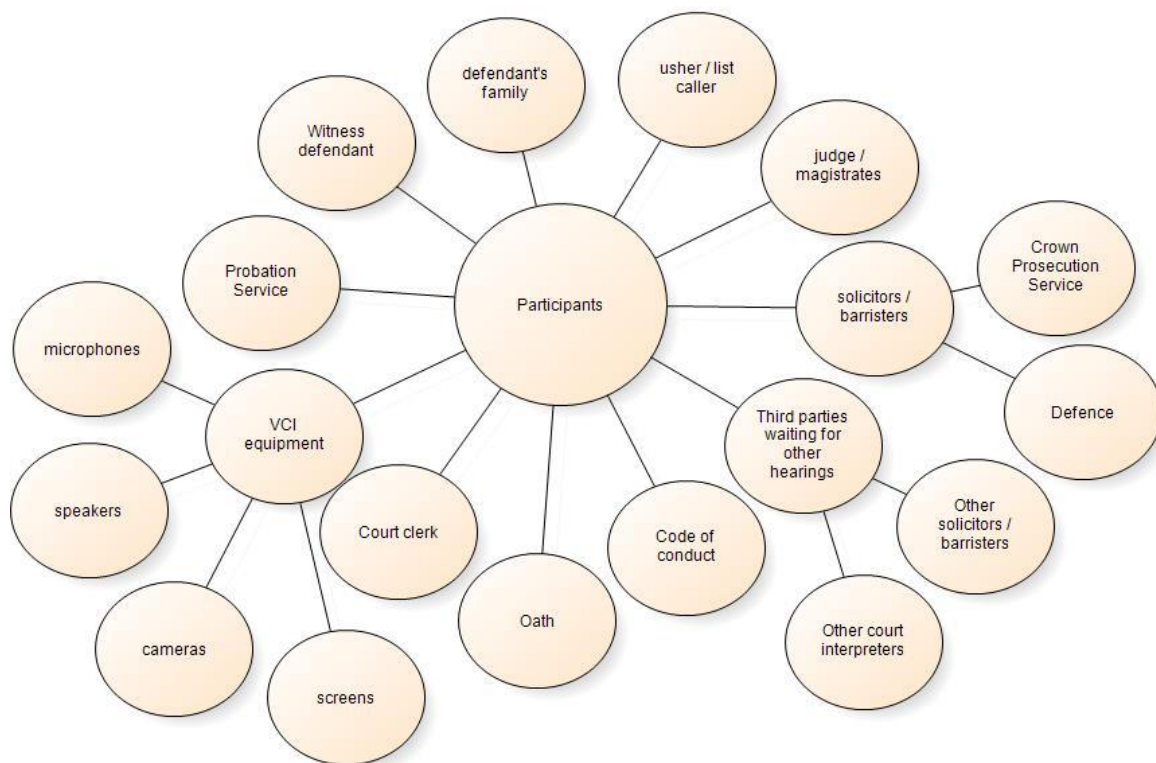


Figure 16: Actors' Network in VCI A

⁶⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2, various codes of conduct exist in England. Although court interpreters are expected to abide by the NRPSI's Professional Code of Conduct, P3 indicated that court interpreters could also take into account the ITI, CioL, or APCI's deontological codes.

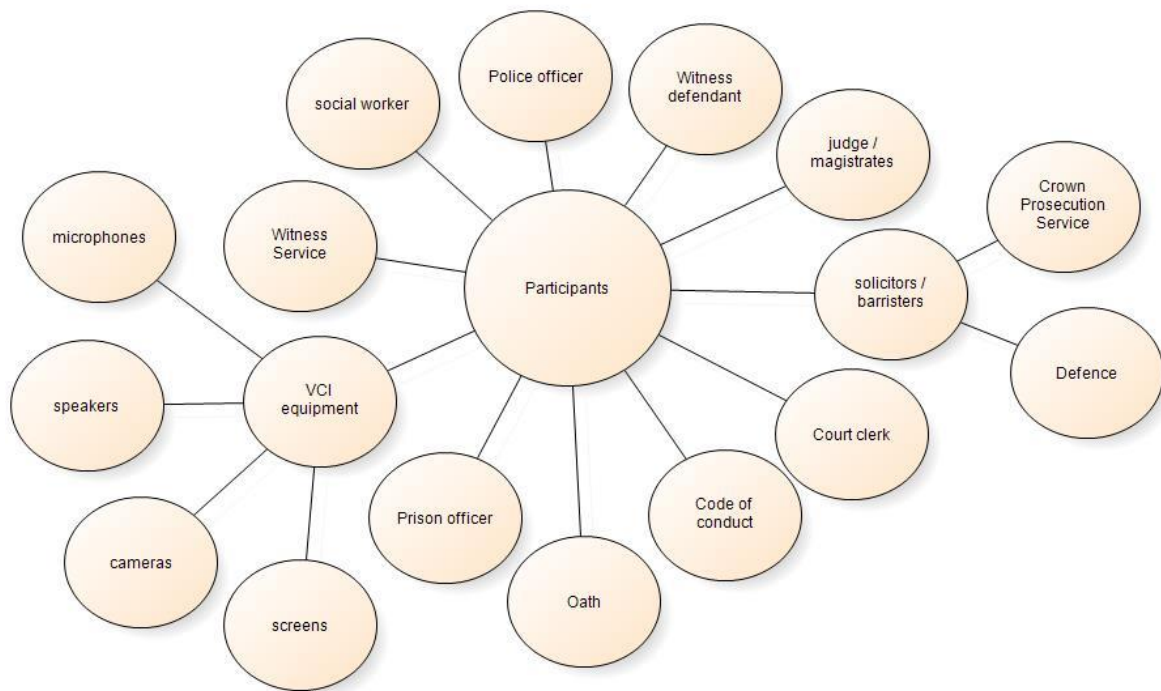


Figure 17: Actors' Network in VCI B

To summarise, the participants identified a wide variety of human and non-human actors, ranging from essential participants in a hearing (e.g. solicitors, judges, defendants, and oaths) to actors that were only mentioned by a very few participants in this study (e.g. the defendant's family).

1.2. The participants' definition of their role

As in the previous chapter where the eighteen participants' role-spaces differed, the participants' definition of the court interpreter's role varied. Not only did this differ amongst the participants, but the mode (i.e. whether the hearing was conducted in face-to-face or in VCI) was also a factor that, for some participants, modified their role perception. For this reason, this section has been divided between the participants' definition of their role in general, and the extent to which such a definition differed when VC equipment was used.

1.2.1. In general

Most participants (e.g. P3, P7, P11, P12, and P16) described their role in court interpreting mainly as one of a language transfer from one language to another. For instance, P6 described her role as a "linguistic tool to enable people to communicate accurately" (P6: L63), and P2 talked about a language transfer that

is “as near enough the words that were said, word for word” (P2: L141). In other words, their main role is to communicate the linguistic content of the intervention, being as literal as possible. To further illustrate this, participants used various role analogies. For instance, P17 referred to her role as being “a mouthpiece” (P17: L75) that is to simply “repeat what everybody else is saying” (P17: L76) in the other language. P1 defined her role as a “conduit for communications”. P8 perceived her role as a “translation machine” (P8: L61). P13 compared it to a “black box sitting or standing next to the defendant or witness” (P13: L41). It is just “a language transfer with no other input, (...) except explaining the occasional cultural reference that is not 100% understandable” (P13: L46-8). P12 thought that she was “a link between two parties that does not interfere” (P12: L87-8). Although not expressed in the same terms, P10 referred to the interpreter as an invisible entity that is “blending in as much as possible” (P10: L57). Interestingly, non-interference was a recurring concept used by the participants in their analogies. For instance, P3 stated that she would not intervene even if she believed that the solicitor gave wrong legal advice. Instead, most participants believed that they should simply say “what [the court actor] is saying” (P5: L44).

However, there were some exceptions as most participants would intervene to explain cultural references. As P2 (L142) stated, mediating cultural nuances fell also within the remit of the interpreter’s role boundaries, and as P7 (L53-5) stated, in the end, the role of the interpreter is to ensure “a means of communication between the parties” so that the non-English speaker is “on the same footing as someone who has English.” Furthermore, some interpreters (P8 and P11) stated that any intervention should be carried out in accordance with the Chartered Institute of Linguists’ principles, the interpreters’ code of conduct, and the training received. It is worth noting that although most participants would promote a non-interference approach, they believed that intervening to explain cultural differences was not in contradiction with their role definition. This could be due to the fact that they only did so to clarify linguistic issues such as cultural differences.

Some participants perceived that they were playing a more pro-active role. For instance, P14 stated that interpreters were “facilitators of communication”, and they were “not just a mouth piece or a conduit (...) but it [was] also important to facilitate communication through barriers of language, cultural differences, and

terminology” (P 14: L43-4). Their aims were to “make sure everything is clear” and to “make sure [the defendant or witness] understands” (P5: L45-6). In that case, P14 would intervene to explain cultural differences (as per the participants above), but she would also explain the legal terminology used by the parties. Other participants stated that they had to be “diplomatic (...) and remember that [interpreters] are dealing with people” (P15: L65). To do so, interpreters have to be “a friend, in brackets, a support. You can’t just interpret what they are saying and be the general messenger. You have to be diplomatic, nice, and understanding” (P15: L68-9). In the same way, P12 stated, interpreters are “here to help and not be hostile to [the defendant]” (P12: L274). It is interesting to note that P12 previously stated that interpreters should not interfere. However, she did not perceive that showing some more humanistic traits than those prescribed in the machine or conduit models described above was in contradiction with her non-interference approach. Finally, P5 stated that interpreters had to “make sure [the defendant’s] rights are upheld and that he knows what is going to happen” (P5: L41-2), which would go above and beyond what P7 described as putting “the non-English speaker on the same footing as someone who has English” (P7: L55-6).

The terms “impartiality” (e.g. P1, P10) and “confidentiality” (e.g. P4, P6) were often used by the participants to describe their role. They believed that interpreters should not take sides with one party in particular, and that they should not divulge any information obtained during the court process. It is interesting to note that P11 highlighted that not only should interpreters be impartial, but they should also be seen by the other actors as being impartial. Some participants (e.g. P6, P15) also stated that the interpreter was to remain professional. For instance, P15 stated that she remained professional by not “divulg[ing] any information” (P15: L57-8), which would refer to not infringing the principle of confidentiality. Furthermore, the term “accurately” was also used by some participants (e.g. P8, P13) to define ‘how’ they had to interpret. In that case, they referred to the interpreter’s role as that of a language transfer, which should not contain any additions or omissions, for instance.

On another note, P10 and P13 stated that the court interpreter’s role does not differ, and “it is like any other interpreting job” (P13: L40), which suggests that the

interpreter's role is not context-bound. Furthermore, some participants also claimed that interpreters are necessary actors in multi-lingual court hearings (P11, P15) with "high responsibility" (P18: L40). For this reason, P17 felt "valued because they couldn't do their jobs without [her]" (P17: L76-7). Finally, court interpreters must be qualified (P11), interpret to the best of their skills (P12), keep the tones, nuances, and body language (P1 and P 8), and they should not add or omit anything (P6). Interestingly, some participants did not seem to differentiate between defining the interpreter's role and the manner in which the interpreter should interpret (e.g. keeping the same tone, or no addition or omission).

Overall, most participants defined their role mainly from a linguistic viewpoint, and their remit was to transfer the informational content from one language to another. To do so, they may have to intervene to clarify a cultural reference. A few participants perceived that they had to move away from the 'machine' or 'conduit' analogies, and that they should demonstrate some more humanistic traits. However, they did not perceive that this could lead to any role conflicts. It is also apparent that the participants anchored their role perception within the NRPSI's *Code of Professional Conduct*, and more specifically within some of its core tenets (e.g. impartiality, confidentiality, no omission or addition, etc.).

1.2.2. In VCI

When asked how the participants perceived their role in VCI, some participants stated that there was no difference whether the hearing took place in face-to-face or via VC equipment (e.g. P9, P14, P18). In fact, some (e.g. P10 or P16) stated that VCI A enhanced their role as they could more easily "blend in" and remain impartial" (P10: L185). Similarly, P2 believed that VCI B did not infringe on her impartiality, but in fact it enhanced it as the defendant was brought into the room only when the VC hearing started. Some other participants perceived that their role remained the same, but the "the whole process [was] a bit slower" as they had to interpret consecutively (P4: L298). Others stated that their role was not affected, but it "required extra effort" (P5: L406). P8 (L91-2) also stated that it was "very narrow" (sic.) "but [she] would not say that the role itself [was] undermined". This "more narrow" feeling stemmed mainly from the fact that it was more difficult to obtain feedback or back-channel to the participants on the other side of the screen

(e.g. P1, P2, and P3). In that case, P1 felt that she had to compensate verbally, and be more descriptive by “emphasiz[ing] with a word rather than a gesture” because of the lack of body language signals (P1: L211-2). P6 also felt that she was “more noticeable” (P6: L370) as she was standing at the front of the court, instead of being in the dock at the back of the courtroom. P12 also believed that her role was the same but it was more difficult to relay it because of the distance. Finally, P7 stated that her role did not change, but she found it more difficult as she was providing a summary rather than interpreting all the interventions. Although these participants first believed that there was no difference in terms of their role, the use of technologies seems to affect some varying aspects of their role perceptions.

However, a few participants perceived that their role could clearly differ in VCI. The main concern that was expressed was related to the impact that VC equipment could have on impartiality. In VCI A, P1 (L429-30) stated: “I found when I was doing video-link in court, that I was treated like one of the team of the barristers.” She believed that the defendant could not see her as an impartial actor in court. Similarly, P3 highlighted that there could be issues arising from the use of VCI B, when she was sitting with the defendant where she felt that her role could turn into becoming an “advocate” for the defendant (P3: L306). The issue of impartiality was also raised by P11 as there was “no separation between the witness” and herself, and she questioned whether the court participants on the other side of the screen would see her as an impartial court actor.

As mentioned previously, P8 was rather reserved as she believed that the use of VC equipment affected only certain aspects of her role. She felt that in VCI A, her role was narrower, and that she was

a translation machine and convey[ed] what’s been said accurately. The defendant would not possibly expect me to give more explanation of the proceedings. That’s just something that occurs when you are actually sitting next to each other in the dock and the defendant is bewildered and expects you to explain. (P8: L349-53)

It is interesting to note that P8 perceived that at first, this narrower role definition was not an issue as she believed that her role was not “undermined” (P8: L292). However, when she began discussing it in more detail, it became apparent that this narrower definition of her role was a hindrance since providing explanation

was one of her role traits, and VC equipment made this not possible. However, the fact that no additional information could be provided in VCI A was perceived as being positive from P10 and P16 above. This highlights a further cleavage between participants' viewpoints as to the consequences that VC equipment could have on their role perceptions.

In general, the role definition was not shared by all the court interpreters in this study. In face-to-face, most participants perceived their role as that of a language transfer from one language into another, and they used terms such as a 'conduit', a 'machine', or a 'black box' to qualify it. Some participants described their role as being a more pro-active actor in the interaction, and they perceived themselves as being a language 'facilitator'. However, most role definitions remained anchored in the concepts of impartiality, non-interference, and confidentiality, which were recurrent themes used to define their role. Furthermore, in VCI, the participants' role perception was affected in varying degrees, with some who believed that the use of VC equipment clearly enhanced or limited their role as that of a language transfer.

1.3. The interpreter in the interaction

During the problematisation phase in Callon's study (1986), some actors defined themselves as Obligatory Passage Points (OPPs), or as Callon called them '*primum movens*', without whom the network could not exist. To do so, an actor must become an essential link within such a network. This section analyses the extent to which the eighteen participants defined themselves as an OPP when they interpreted in court settings.

1.3.1. An essential link

All the participants described their role as being essential in a multi-lingual court hearing. For instance, P11 described the court interpreter as a "necessity" (P11: L148), a feeling that was also shared by P17 who felt "valued in court because they couldn't do the job without [her]" (P17: L76-7). P12 believed that she was "indispensable" in multi-lingual court hearings. Moreover, P2 (L420) stated that she was "the only link", although she admitted that on some occasions the defendant had a sufficient working knowledge of English, and she subsequently wondered why she had been asked to attend the hearing.

Furthermore, participants highlighted that they were not only necessary for the non-English speaker, but that they were also a necessity for the other court actors present in the hearing, as P15 mentioned.

However, some participants mentioned certain caveats. P2 (L199-200) believed that only “sensible” court staff “who’ve got years of experience” believed that she was an essential link in the communication. In addition, P5 also believed she was an essential link, although some barristers would see her as an actor that would delay the proceedings.

Overall, then, the participants believed that they were essential actors during a VCI hearing, even though some other court actors may have a different opinion.

1.3.2. Influencing the interaction

Despite perceiving themselves as essential links, the eighteen participants believed that they did not have any influence on how the court hearing was conducted. As P15 said, “you are just interpreting the same things in the best way you can do it back into the other language” (P15: L324-5). In a similar way, P8 stated that she would intervene “as far as a language issue and communication is concerned (P8: L257-8). However, she would not exercise any influence on the other court participants for any matter that would fall out of the language transfer. To illustrate the limitations of her role, she stated: “if I think the solicitor isn’t doing a good job, that’s not my business. I stick to my own role” (P8: L259). Some interpreters would also impose conditions which would self-restrict their influence on the interaction within the language transfer. For instance, P12 would only interpret what was verbalised. She narrated an event where the defendant looked confused by the use of VC equipment, and although she was aware of his confusion, she did not intervene as the defendant did not say that he was confused.

When discussing VCI more specifically, it seems that the judge would further restrict the interpreter’s influence. P6, P7 and P15 reported that during VCI hearings, they would only partially interpret what was asked directly to the defendant (P15), or they would interpret summaries of the hearing content (P6 and P7). Interestingly, P6 highlighted that this was not appropriate as she believed that she had to interpret all the interventions. However, she stated that “because

the judge asked only to summarise, I felt quite ok about it” (P6: 166-7). P7 felt that when using VC equipment, she had “to sort of adapt to the circumstances” as her aim was to “satisfy [her] clients” (P7: L255-6). Similarly, P2 explained that she was instructed by the judge to “look at her client and ignore the camera”, and she had to “pretend that [the court members of staff] were not there [and] talk to [her] client and ignore [them]” (P2: L99-101). Since the request as to what to interpret and when to interpret it was formulated by the judge, interpreters responded positively to this request.

Finally, some participants emphasized the point that their influence was not restricted by the judge but by the use of technologies. First, P1 believed that the use of VC equipment impacted on her role as she could not always hear or see well, which was confirmed by several other participants, as discussed in Chapter 5. P16 also indicated that the use of technologies forced her to stand in certain places in court (such as the witness box) so that she could be seen and heard. Interestingly, she was not consulted as to where she wanted to sit, which might have restricted her ability to read body language. However, given the court layout and the location of the screen, microphones, cameras, no alternative location may have been suitable.

Overall, the participants in this study perceived that they had no influence on the interactions, except, to some extent, if it was related to the language transfer. However, it appears that the judge or the VC equipment are the actors that influence the participants in the network.

1.3.3. The court interpreter as a *primum movens*

Based on the participants’ perception of their limited influence in the interaction, it can be argued that they did not define themselves as the main actor, or in ANT terms, as the *primum movens*. One exception can be noticed. P8 defined herself as the *primum movens* on only one occasion, in a face-to-face setting. Indeed, the presiding judge did not allow P8 to interpret the defendant’s testimony as he believed the defendant had sufficient knowledge of the English language. However, she intervened and told the judge that her role was to interpret, but “not to interpret the way that [she was] instructed by the judge” (P8: L343-4). She

described this experience as a “crunch point” (P8: L245), but she then managed to interpret for the defendant.

However, the participants would expect the judge to make a decision as to how the hearing should be conducted. As P3 explained, when they encountered a technical issue in VCI A she did not intervene; neither did any of the other court actors. However, they were “beginning to lay back so that the judge would notice”, and he would intervene (P3: L64). Defining the judge as the *primum movens* also emerged from other participants’ data (e.g. from P4, P8, and P18). Furthermore, the participants would be reluctant to contradict a judge. As P8 stated, “judges also are such charismatic people. They are not to be trifled with. You cannot question what they say” (P8: L122-3). On such occasions, the judge is defined as the *primum movens*.

Some participants also defined the VC equipment as the *primum movens* since it was the actor that modified how the hearing took place. For instance, P15 was instructed by the judge when she was to interpret during the court hearing. In such circumstances, the actor that modified the proceeding was the VC equipment, and the judge had to react, and he asked the interpreter to stray from a fully interpreted rendition of the court proceedings. Likewise, P3 felt that there was a “barrier” (P3: L143) between the court participants, and for this reason, she did not interrupt the court in VCI B (although she would not hesitate to do so in face-to-face mode). P12 also believed that she could feel some emotions, such as sympathy, towards the defendant when they were next to each other. However, she believed that this was much more difficult due to “that physical distance” in VCI A.

In general, the participants defined themselves as an essential link in a multi-lingual court hearing. They believed that such a link was essential from a language transfer viewpoint. However, they did not define themselves as the *primum movens* in the IME. Instead, the judge or the VC equipment was the main actor that dictated how the other actors were to act. This is in line with the participants’ role definitions discussed above, whereby the participants perceived their role as that of a language transfer, without interfering in any other aspects of the hearing. However, most would intervene to explain a cultural difference for

instance, as they perceive that this falls within the remit of the language transfer. In such instances, they would become the *primum movens*.

2. Interessement

In the interessement phase, the *primum movens* deploys strategies, or interessement devices (as defined by Callon (1986)) in order to convince the other actors to rally to the *primum movens*' side. As the participants in this study defined their role as language transfer agents, this section examines the strategies that they deploy in order to operate as transfer agents. But first, this part analyses how the participants believed that their role had been perceived by the other court actors. This phase highlights any role perception discrepancies between all the actors so that such discrepancies form the background against which the interessement devices are used.

2.1. The other actors' perception of the court interpreter's role

The eighteen participants believed that the other participants' perceptions of the role of the court interpreters varied amongst defendants, witnesses, and court members.

From the defendants' or witnesses' perspectives, some participants stated that they would perceive the court interpreter's role as a means to positively enhance their legal case. First, P2 and P5 believed that they were perceived as helpers. Witnesses asked P2 for her business card "so that if they needed help, they would call [her]" (P2: L254), for instance when they needed to speak to their solicitor after the hearing. Furthermore, P5 was asked by a defendant to help them "to get out" of prison (P5: L194). However, P5 later added that this role perception was more representative when interpreting at a police station. P14 concurred that the role of the interpreter as a helper was more prominent at police stations, and she hypothesised that this could be due to the fact that at that stage in the legal proceedings, the defendant may never have worked with an interpreter in the past.

Moreover, some participants believed that the defendant or witness would perceive the court interpreter as a friend (e.g. P2: and P3). However, P3 thought that such situations were happening mainly with asylum seekers and refugees in Immigration and Asylum Tribunal settings. She believed that this was due to the

fact that “they are over here, they are on their own, very often they are isolated, erm, they see me as somebody who speaks their language, they have a very hostile environment around them” (P3: L231-3). Similarly to the situation where the interpreter was described as a helper above, she believed that many refugees would not have had an interpreter in the past and therefore, they would not know how to work with an interpreter.

Other defendants or witnesses would express more negative feelings towards the interpreters. P2 mentioned that a defendant or witness could be very hostile towards the interpreter, and that they would see her as an agent working for the court (P2: L260). Similarly, P18 believed that some actors could be suspicious of the interpreter’s relationship with the other side. As P18 stated:

Sometimes the defendant and sometimes the solicitors will say ‘oh, you are on their side’ or, I don’t know, they are just suspicious of us. I say I am here to help and just do my duties you know, what is required of me. But they will say ‘oh are you sort of making them look better’. I have never tried to make one of the parties look better. But I can only do my job. (P18: L168-72)

In addition to the suspicions voiced by defendants above, P18 claimed that solicitors also expressed suspicions towards the interpreter, who would be perceived as working for the other court party.

Finally, as far as the defendant’s or witness’s viewpoint is concerned, P12 felt that “sometimes there isn’t a willingness to accept the interpreter” (P12: L247) as some would try to speak in English. She had experienced situations where she felt that she was not needed, as their English aural skills were sufficient. However, in other cases, they tried to communicate in English, but their language skills were too poor. This unwillingness to accept the interpreter was also expressed by P2. She was perceived as an obstacle from the defendant’s viewpoint, as he wanted a friend of his to interpret for him, despite his friend not being a court interpreter. She also felt that sometimes she had to filter the information provided by a witness or a defendant. She explained that some asked her “to pass on information that had not been requested yet” (P2: L299), and she would then have to decline their request. She would explain that as the court was in session, she could not pass on this information.

From the viewpoint of the court staff, the participants also claimed that some mixed feelings towards the interpreter's role were expressed, whether by judges, barristers or solicitors. As P3 said:

I have had barristers who told me to shut up. I have had barristers in adjournments asking me to go and get cups of coffees. I have had barristers extremely respectful to me and very polite and very glad and very thankful for what I have done. I have had judges who have made comments like, well why can't he speak English? You know, that kind of thing. He's been here seven years, he should be speaking English, we don't really need you. I have had solicitors sometimes tell me, just interpret at the end, just be quiet for the first bit, you know. You get such a mixed reaction. (P3: L161-8)

Such mixed feelings were also shared by P12, who felt that although her work was appreciated by some court members, "not all of them are like that" (P12: L307). She said that sometimes she felt that judges were very understanding, and that they would give the interpreters a break. She had also worked with barristers, and "some [were] very nice, and some [were] horrible" (P12: L304). As P3 said (P3:L228), "there is not one single perception".

Given this range of feelings, the participants listed various role perceptions that the members of the court had expressed towards them. First, some court participants would perceive the interpreter as a cultural mediator upon whom they would rely to obtain some information. P2 narrated a case where a toddler was left alone at home, and some court participants asked her unofficially whether such an action was deemed acceptable in the defendant's country of origin.

Along the same lines, P2 also reported that some members of the court would expect the interpreter to cast a moral judgement on the defendant. Indeed, she was asked by court participants whether she thought it was acceptable for the defendant to receive a rather large amount of benefits, given that he was refusing to work.

Finally, P2 also reported that some court participants would view her as a lie detector. As P2 (L203-5) said, "I had clerks coming up to me and asking me: 'What do you think of this case?' So they want me to analyse. 'Do you think he was lying about it?' ...and so on".

Other participants reported that they perceived that court staff tended to have a rather negative opinion as far as the interpreter's role was concerned.

First, P1 (L535-6) reported that "interpreters are seen as a pain in the neck anyway because the first idea is that it is going to take five times as long as without an interpreter." The perception of the interpreting process as too time-consuming was also reported by P10 (L203-4), who felt that "in court everybody is in a hurry and everybody agrees that if the interpreter wasn't there, it would be better. Because it really doubles up the time." In such scenarios, they felt that the interpreter was perceived as slowing down the court proceedings.

Furthermore, P17 stated that interpreting was also perceived as a financial drain. She felt that

there are some judges who don't like interpreters. Not because they are interpreters, I think it's because - and it happened just recently, in the last couple of years, because of the government's savings and different courts are short of money, some judges are so hell-bent on savings. They, I, in [city], I was in [city] not so long ago and the judge didn't want to book an interpreter for a trial because he said that the defendant had been here for 7 years, I don't know, and he was working wherever. So he should really know English now. (P17: L288-95).

It is interesting to note that P17 perceived that the financial burden carried by courts would affect judges' decisions as to whether or not an interpreter was deemed a necessary actor.

However, some caveats were also expressed by some participants. First, P11 called into question whether people have a perception of an interpreter "because [she doesn't] think that people actively think about it" (P11: L434), which suggests that some participants would not perceive the interpreter as a main court actor.

P16 also believed that, as far as witnesses were concerned, she never experienced any issues in court. She believed that "by the time the witness comes to the room in the court, by then, he or she would have provided a few statements so by then they would have had an experience with an interpreter" (P16: L353-5). Therefore, the previous interpreters would have defined their role, and the defendant would be aware what such a role consisted of when the hearing took place in court. In such circumstances, P16 believed that there were no role discrepancies.

Most of the participants' perceptions were set in face-to-face court settings. This could be related to participants' feelings that there were no additional (or even sometimes fewer) controversies regarding the court actors' perception of the interpreters' role in VCI. To exemplify this, P13 said that in VCI "there was nothing let's say controversial about my job. So probably everybody was happy with what was happening". But sometimes the situation differs in face-to-face as "the judge wants the interpreter to interpret everything that is going on, and the interpreter cannot or is unable to do the simultaneous interpreting of everything that is going on". (P13: L177-9). In VCI B, P4 also believed that there were no controversies in terms of her role. She stated that

they still perceived me as a professional interpreter who knew what she was doing in terms of what was required as an interpreter. Again, I don't think they saw me in any different way except that there was an added technology tool to breach the distance. (P4: L304-7)

This feeling was shared by P2 who argued that in VCI B "[the court staff] didn't ask me to do anything except interpret. And I wasn't left alone even with the victim⁶⁵." P8 also felt that when VC equipment was used, there was no issue regarding the interpreter's role perception. However, this tended to differ in face-to-face settings, where she encountered more difficulties (P8: L310).

Other participants perceived that there was no difference whether the hearing was conducted in face-to-face or in VCI. P9 reported that she "didn't find any difference in that matter" (P9: L214), and P14 felt that "everything was ordinary, just like it was the same experience as interpreting for the witness in the courtroom" (P14: L173-4).

However, P12 reported that it was more difficult for the defendant to perceive the interpreter as a friend in VCI A due to the physical distance between her and the defendant. She believed that as a result, the defendant did not understand that interpreters "are here to help with communication" (P12: L238).

All in all, then, the participants in this study expressed various perceptions as to how they believed that they are perceived by the other court actors. It transpires that not all the participants shared the same perceptions, and that the court actors

⁶⁵ In this case, P2 was asked to interpret for the victim who was giving evidence.

(whether it be the defendant/witness or the court staff) could also perceive the interpreter's role differently. However, most of the perceptions expressed were within the remit of face-to-face interactions, and this was due to the fact that they did not perceive any difference whether the hearing was conducted in face-to-face or via VC equipment.

2.2. Interesement devices

In order to rally the other court actors, the participants in this study deployed, between them, thirty interesement devices in order to carry out their perception of their role. These can be divided into two overarching themes: overt or covert strategies, and they are grouped and summarised in Figure 18 and Figure 19 below. It is worth noting that the vast majority of strategies (twenty-five) are carried out overtly, that is to say the participants were deploying these strategies to attempt to translate openly the other court actors. The other five covert strategies were carried out without the awareness on the part of other court participants. This section will now focus more specifically on each of the interesement devices deployed by the participants.

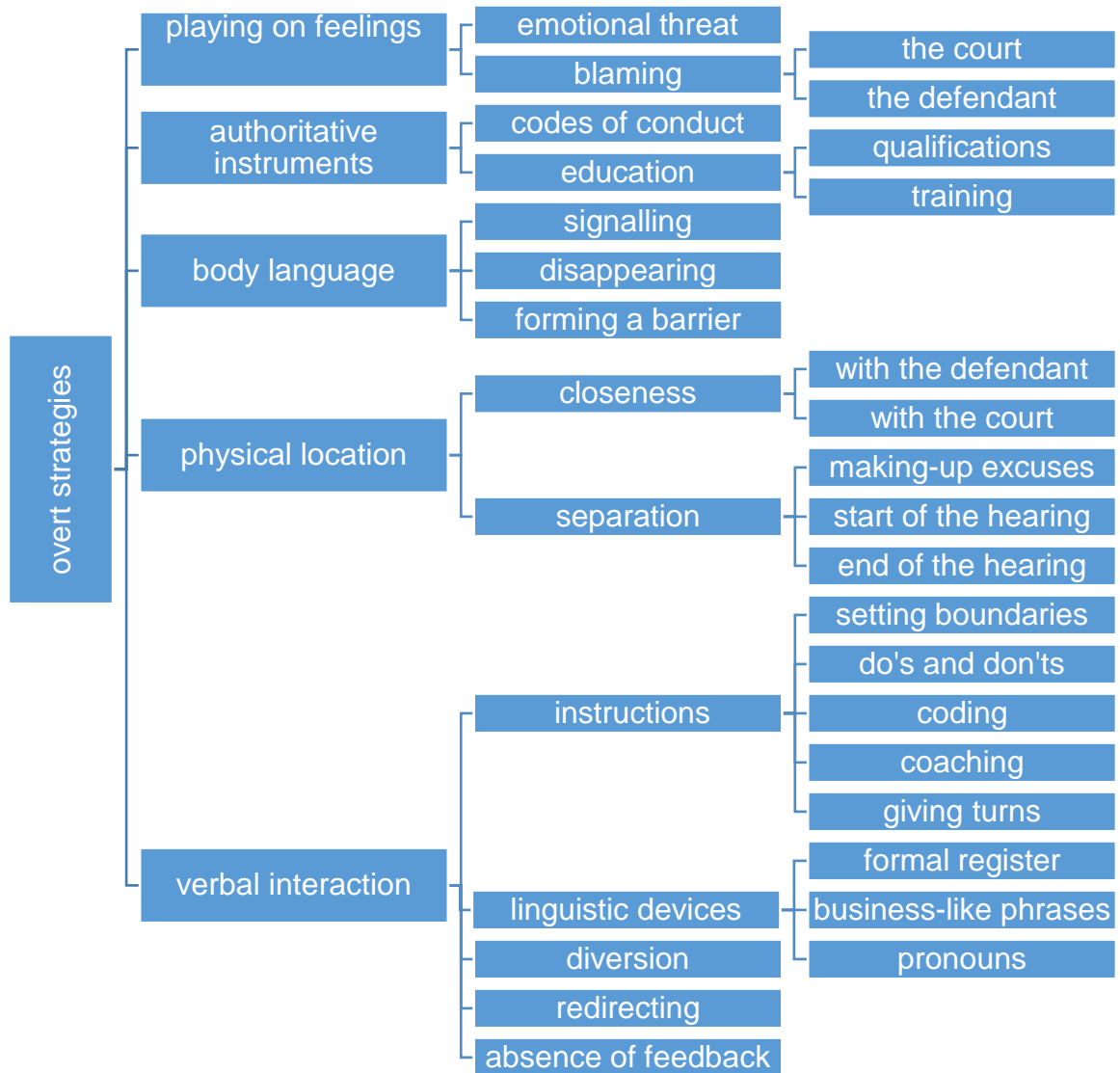


Figure 18: Overt interestment strategies

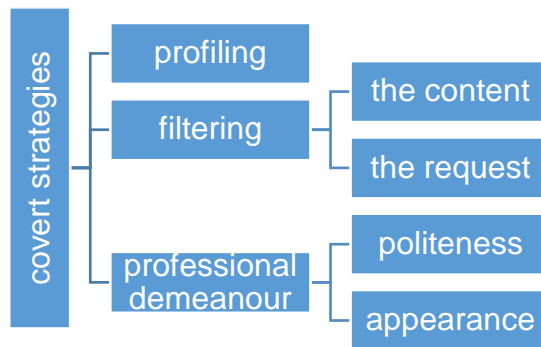


Figure 19: Covert interessement strategies

2.2.1. Overt strategies

The overt strategies can be divided into five main themes that are as follows: playing on feelings, authoritative instruments, body language, physical locations, and verbal interaction. Each theme is then divided into the various interessement devices deployed. It is worth noting that some generic terms (such as ‘blame’) were also used to group together more specific interessement devices (‘blaming the court’ and ‘blaming the defendant’ in this particular case).

First, some participants played on the other court actors’ emotional feelings in order to interest them. If a defendant tried to engage in a conversation dealing with some aspect of the case, P12 would reply: “I am very sorry but we shouldn’t talk about this because this could go against you if you are telling me things” (P12: L278-80). P2 reported that once, when the defendant asked for her business card, she replied to the defendant: “If I do that, I would lose my job. I would never be employed again. I am sure you don’t want that to me” (P2:L257-8). Here, the participants resorted to some emotional threats towards the defendant. In order to avoid a similar situation P1 would blame the court, stating that she was not allowed to be seen with the defendant. On the other hand, P18 would blame the defendant if he said something that he did not want to be interpreted. P18 would reply that the court “[saw] [him] open [his] mouth” (P18: L179), and therefore she had to interpret. In addition, P3 would blame the defendant if he tried to argue that the interpreter had made an error. She explained that she would write key words, dates, etc. on her note-pad, and she would show them to the defendant before she interpreted. This was a means for her to ensure that what she had interpreted was what the defendant had said.

Some participants would also rely on authoritative instruments such as their code of conduct or their qualification. In fact, many participants referred to the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)' *Code of Professional Conduct* as their first port of call to justify their role. For instance, P2 and P11 would refer to their code when they were asked to comfort a witness. They stated that they were not allowed to do so as they would not be impartial anymore. Furthermore, when asked to provide a summary rather than interpret all the interaction content, P3 stated that she was not allowed by her code as she was expected "to interpret word for word" (P3: L393). It is also interesting to note that some participants did not necessarily mention the code, but they articulated their arguments around the *Code of Professional Conduct's* key concepts such as impartiality and confidentiality (e.g. P11). Other participants also relied on their level of education to interest the court actors. When challenged by a defendant's friend on how she interpreted certain terms, P2 put forward the fact that she was a fully-qualified interpreter, in contrast with his friend. Training received was also a device used to interest court participants. For instance, P11 would refer to her training when court officials wanted to leave her with the defendant. She would state that she was trained not to be left alone with the defendant. P2 also used the fact that she was trained to take notes and interpret consecutively, and she would show her note-pad to court officials to convince them that they did not need to speak in small chunks, especially as this was particularly hindering her interpreting performance.

Body language was also used as an interestement device by some of the participants. First, if a defendant had to come and speak to P11, she would inform him in the foreign language that she could not speak to him as she was expected to be impartial. However, she would also signal this by putting her hand towards the defendant to stop him come closer. This gesture was mainly for the benefit of the other people present in the court waiting room, who could only speak English. She believed that by acting in such a manner, the English speakers would understand that she was displaying herself as being impartial. P11 also mentioned another interestement device that she used especially in VCI B. As her role was to be as invisible as possible, she would move the chair so that she would be out of the camera's range. Finally, when sitting next to the prosecution barrister in VCI

A, P1 believed that she was “sending the wrong signal” as the defendant on the other side of the screen could infer that she was not impartial, but that she was the prosecution’s ally. In order to restore impartiality, she moved her shoulder and back at an angle so that she would, at least, form a barrier to dissociate herself from the CPS.

The participants’ physical location also led to some interessement devices being deployed. Indeed, some participants deployed certain devices when they were in close proximity with some of the other actors. For instance, P13 thought that in VCI B, it was easier to ask for the solicitor’s help when repetition or clarification was required as they were sitting next to each other in prison. In the same vein, P14 believed that it was easier to seek clarification when she was sitting next to the witness. In VCI A, P9 reported that she felt more comfortable as she was sitting next to the judge, and she felt that she was part of “a family” (P9: 265). On the other hand, some participants use the distance as an interessement device to separate themselves from some court actors. For instance, P12 did not want to wait outside the courtroom with the defendant. Therefore, in order to move away from the defendant, she would make up excuses. She said that she had to make a phone call, or that she had to work, and she would take out a book. In order to preserve some distance in VCI, P2 mentioned that coordinating the start of the hearing was important in VCI B. She believed that as the defendant was brought into the room just before the video-link started, she did not have to talk to him. This differs from P1’s experience as she had to wait with the defendant for the video-link to work, which made her feel uncomfortable. The timing at the end of the hearing could also be used as an interessement device so that the interpreter would not have to talk to the defendant. As P2 stated, she would always wait inside the court to put enough distance between herself and the defendant.

Finally, the overt strategies that were the most discussed by the participants in this study were related to verbal interactions between them and the actors that they wanted to interest. First, participants would define their role and set boundaries when they introduced themselves. For instance, P3 and P16 found it useful to introduce themselves to the defendant or witness, especially if they had never had an interpreter in the past, so that P3 and P16 could set boundaries as to what their role entailed. The introduction was also used as a means to explain the reason

why the interpreter could not speak to the defendant or witness outside the courtroom. In that case, P11 would say that she could not speak to him as she was bound to remain impartial, and therefore, they had to refrain from any contacts outside the courtroom. Likewise, P5 would state that she was an interpreter on the National Register of Public Service Interpreters, and for this reason “[she] [was] not supposed to have any dealings with [him] outside” (P5: L374). P15 would also inform the defendant that she was present to “only interpret what [he] [was] saying or what the [court actors] [were] saying” (P15: L205-6). P4 mentioned that she was introduced, and during the introduction, her role was explained by other court actors, such as the judge. She believed that it was easier for her as she focused solely on interpreting what the judge was saying. Setting boundaries during the introduction also allowed the interpreter to apply ‘sanctions’ later on if the defendant or witness infringed the boundaries. For instance, P2 would mention in the introduction that everything that was said would be interpreted. If the defendant then asked for it not to be interpreted, she would still do so, and she would refer to her warning in her introduction.

Further to setting boundaries, some participants would also provide the defendant or witness with some specific do’s and don’ts. For instance, in VCI B, P15 (L204) stated that she had to say to the defendant “don’t look at me. Don’t ask me. Just listen. Pay attention and look at the screen.” P6 noted that this interessement device was also used at the police station when the interpreter would inform the police officer not to leave her alone with the suspect. Additionally, P1 (L380) stated that she would instruct the defendant to be quiet by saying “Shh” to him, when they were sitting next to each other.

Furthermore, some participants would define a code in order to inform the court participants that she required specific actions. In VCI B, P16 (L150) would say to the other actor: “Speak as you normally do (...) and if I need to stop, I will raise my hand”. This coding system was also used by P6, who instructed the court that she would raise her hand when she needed repetition, clarification, or if she could not hear the proceedings.

Moreover, P17 would coach the defendant or witness by stating that they needed to “answer concisely and stop periodically” (P17: L159-60).

Finally, the last *interessement* device in the 'giving instructions' category is turn-taking. P4 reported that in VCI B, she had to manage turn-taking as the witness wanted to intervene. It is interesting to note that P2 argued that giving instructions to court actors was feasible either before the court hearing or during the breaks. However, she believed that the use of VC equipment restricted her to giving instructions as there were no longer breaks, and it was more difficult to communicate with the parties on the other side of the screen (P2: L381-91).

Some participants also mentioned that they used linguistic devices as part of the verbal interaction in order to interest the other court actors. First, P3 (L232-6) mentioned that she would always address the defendant using a high register. For instance, she stated that although some defendants would address her using "tu" in French (informal second-person pronoun) or as "ma fille" ("my daughter" – *my translation*), she would always reply using the formal second-person pronoun "vous". Another *interessement* device was the use of already prepared sentences. P10 (L247) stated that when he required the court actors to carry out a specific task in VCI A, he would use a "business-like" set of sentences such as "the interpreter is asking for clarification", "this is an addition of the interpreter", and "the interpreter is asking to repeat". It is interesting to note that for P10, having a "business-like" approach was essential when communicating with the other parties. Similarly, the use of the third person pronoun was used as an *interessement* device by P11 in VCI B. Indeed, she would always refer to herself as the interpreter/she. She stated that referring to herself using the third person pronoun was a means for the court actors to distinguish between the content that was interpreted, and the actions that she required as a court participant.

The last three *interessement* devices used by the participants are: diversion, redirecting, and absence of feedback. Whilst waiting outside the court room, and in order not to engage in a discussion related to the hearing content, P12 (L280) would say "Let's talk about something else", or P14 would talk about football (even though she admitted not knowing much about this topic, but it often interested the defendants) or would "just strike [up] a normal conversation" (P14: L206-7). Hence, they would try to create a diversion so that the defendant, for instance, would not discuss any case-related matter. It is interesting to note that P6 and P10 believed that the use of VCI A was in fact better than face-to-face, as it meant that

the interpreter did not have to spend any “off-line” time with the defendant, whilst waiting for the hearing (P10: L191).

Another means of not engaging the defendant or witness was to redirect them to another court official. For instance, when the witness started asking P4 direct questions in VCI B, she told him that such questions should be addressed to court officials directly, and she would interpret them once the barrister had joined them. Finally, when P2 was not sure whether she was speaking loud enough in VCI B, she believed that the absence of any feedback from the court participant on the other side of the screen meant that she was performing as they were expecting her to.

Overall, the participants listed twenty-five (out of thirty) overt strategies to interest the various court actors. The five remaining strategies are covert, and they will be discussed below.

2.2.2. Covert strategies

The covert strategies, as shown in Figure 19 above, were divided into three main categories: profiling, filtering, and professional demeanour. Compared to overt strategies, fewer participants mentioned covert strategies as interestment devices.

When meeting the defendant or the witness for the first time, some participants in this study would profile him. For instance, depending on the offence allegedly committed and its seriousness, P12 would speak to some defendants, but not to others. Based on the way the defendant or the witness spoke, P16 would also assess his level of education so that she could adapt her performance for him to understand.

Other participants in this study would also act as filters. P13 would be filtering the content of the hearing. He believed that only the utterances directed to the defendant and his answers needed to be interpreted fully. However, he argued that he did not need to interpret fully when legal points were fought. In such situations, he would instead provide the defendant or witness with a summary of the content. Similarly, even though P12 was aware that the defendant was confused in VCI A, she would filter the information by interpreting only what was

verbalised by the defendant. P2, on the other hand, would be filtering the defendant's requests to intervene in VCI B. Indeed, she would not interrupt the court participants if the defendant or witness were trying to intervene. Instead, she would tell him that he had to wait as the information had not been requested yet.

Finally, the last category is professional demeanour. P12 would always smile and be polite to the defendant or witness, and would not be "negative" (P12: L286). P15 shared the same interessement device, and she would couple it with the 'do's and don'ts' interessement devices described above. P3 also stated that physical appearance when interpreting in court was important. She saw court interpreters wearing pizza-parlour caps when arriving in court. However, she believed that interpreters should wear appropriate clothes so that the other court actors would regard the interpreter as a professional.

The participants across the board identified thirty interessement devices that they applied in order to carry out their role. Most devices (twenty-five) were carried out overtly, and only five were used covertly. It also appears that most devices were described in a face-to-face interaction (thirteen), and fewer were identified as strategies used during VCI A (three) or VCI B (eight) hearings. Only one interessement device was expressly cited as being used both in face-to-face and VCI B modes (coding). It is worth noting that most strategies primarily enable the participants to manage the interaction⁶⁶. Table 9 below summarises the mode during which each device was deployed.

mode	Interessement device
Face-to-face	Emotional threat, blaming the court, blaming the defendant, codes of conduct, qualifications, training, signing, making-up excuses, separation at the end of the hearing, setting boundaries, coaching, formal register, diversion.
VCI A	Forming a barrier, closeness with the court, business-like phrases.

⁶⁶ For instance, emotional threat, blaming, codes of conduct, body language, proximity, sanctions, do's and don'ts, coding, coaching, giving turns, redirecting, linguistic devices, filtering the request.

mode	Interessement device
VCI B	Disappearing from the screen, closeness with the defendant, separation until the start of the hearing, do's and don'ts, giving turns, pronouns, redirecting, absence of feedback.
Face-to-face and VCI	Coding.

Table 9: Interessement devices and interpreting modes

3. Stabilising the network

Once the participants had deployed the interessement devices discussed above, they then tried to stabilise the network. To do so, and according to Callon (1986), further negotiation could be needed, and concession would have to be made (enrolment phase). They also had to ensure that the other participants were spokespersons for the collective that they were supposed to be representing (mobilisation phase).

3.1. Enrolment

The participants in this study did not report that they had to use enrolment devices to negotiate the *Translation* process further. This was due to various reasons, which will be discussed below.

P12 and P15 stated that the professionals (to be understood as the judicial actors such as the solicitors, the barristers, or the judges) would understand their role, once they had deployed their interessement devices. P12 further stated that “most of the solicitors knew [her] role and many of them knew the role of the interpreter” (P12: L313-4). This means that the need for enrolment would not arise.

It was also due to the fact that the defendant was sometimes relieved that an interpreter was present, or that the defendant was satisfied with the participant's interpreting performance (especially if the defendant had been dissatisfied with the previous interpreter's work at the police station), as mentioned by P2. In such a case, the defendant may have been more reluctant to either challenge the role definition established by the interpreter, or unwilling to renegotiate role boundaries.

Finally, P12 and P5 said that renegotiating their role during an assignment tended to occur most of the time at police stations. This could be explained by the fact that defendants may never have had an interpreter before, and that they would therefore not know how interpreters operate, as P3 mentioned. However, when they appeared in front of a court, they would already have gained experience of working with an interpreter, which could then reduce the need for further enrolment once the interessement devices had been deployed.

Nonetheless, there is one exception. Although the participants nearly all agreed that no further negotiation was required, P18 reported on a different experience. She stated that it might be necessary to redefine her role at a later stage in the intervention. To do so, she stated that she would simply repeat what her role was, thus using repetition as an enrolment strategy. When this was deployed, P18 reported that no further negotiation was then needed.

Overall, the data did not identify any need for further negotiating the interpreter's role (except with P18), and this is in line with Callon (1986)'s study where the interessement and enrolment phases can occur simultaneously.

3.2. Mobilisation

Some participants reported on various factors that prevented the mobilisation phase from occurring. These factors were articulated around two main themes: different standards and expectations from the various court actors, and the use of private agencies.

First, some participants believed that standards amongst court interpreters varied, and this was due to court interpreters perceiving their role differently. As P1 (L544-5) stated, "there is such a low level interpreting going on that they would not even know what is wrong with video-link or what their role is ethically, and that's a big problem." P9 blamed some court interpreters "who don't even know how to address the judge or that they have to get up when the judge gets up" (P9: L339-40). Interestingly, she believed that the members of staff in courts are becoming accustomed to such practices. This feeling that standards differed amongst court interpreters was also shared by P2, who narrated a case where the non-English speaker was very pleased with P2's interpreting as "they had [had] a bad experience with the interpreter before" (P2: L285-6).

P3 particularly blamed the lack of specialist knowledge of some of the court interpreters, which further highlighted the different standards. To illustrate this point, she stated:

I have found myself very often more concerned about the lack of knowledge of colleague interpreters who will come up quite often in courts' waiting rooms and so on and they all say, you know, what is a pre-trial review? I've got one in 10 minutes. What's one? There I am with 5 minutes to spare, trying to put them on the right track. (P3: L201-5)

In the same way, standards are perceived differently by the other court participants. As P12 stated, court actors are not all used to working with interpreters, and as a consequence, "there are so many [court members] who have no ideas" (P12: L339-40). However, this difference in terms of standards and expectations from the court staff could arise from the fact that they are not aware of what the court interpreter's work entails. As P12 put it:

...because the other thing is, quite often, they don't know how much mental energy the interpreter requires to do a good job, especially if it is a long hearing. (...) they all need training on how to deal with interpreters. (P12: L335-8)

It is worth mentioning that not all the court staff were depicted in this fashion. As P11 said:

There are people in the Criminal Justice System, whoever those people might be, judges, barristers, solicitors, even sort of like legal advisors, who recognise that an interpreter is a qualified person and is required. (P11: L156-8)

This feeling was also shared by P12, who believed that some court staff were aware that "[court interpreters] were doing a job which was indispensable in that sort of situation" (P12: 306-7).

In order to explain why different standards and expectations existed among court interpreters and members of staff, P3 believed that this was partly due to the quality of training received by the interpreters. To illustrate her point, P3 said that during her training, she could see that her fellow students were making mistakes in class. However, their mistakes were not corrected as the training did not offer a legal expert in their other language to verify students' work.

Furthermore, it was perceived that this lowering of standards was due to the privatisation of court interpreters' services. P11 shared an event where the judge

had to ask the interpreter to start interpreting when the barrister was addressing the judge. She stated that:

They may have come from [agency name] or they may have come from the street, I don't know but they were the ones that were asked to start interpreting. However, they were incapable of doing whispered (...) so from the start you could tell that they were untrained and I would say that they were also unqualified and in terms of competence, let's not even go down that road. (P11: L445-52).

P9 also believed that the use of interpreting agencies had weakened the position of the NRPSI as a body safeguarding the court interpreting provision. She said that prior to privatisation, "[court interpreters] would have been taken out of the list if [they] hadn't turned up once or twice without an excuse. Now, they just don't turn up and they cancel and the case is adjourned" (Sic. P9: L345-7). Although there are mechanisms in place to prevent such situations from happening, P9 believed that judges have stopped reporting interpreters to the NRPSI's disciplinary committee.

The perceived weakened status of the NRPSI has led P11 to reconsider whether she will remain on this register, as she believed that the membership was no longer cost-effective.

Although the above participants shared the view that the standards amongst interpreters had declined as a result of the use of non-qualified court interpreters by private agencies, P10 believed that with time, "poor interpreters" would improve. He stated that

[private agencies] changed the criteria and it is good enough to be a language student and you are in. But people who are there, are now bad interpreters. But they will become good interpreters in time. (P10: L355-7)

When analysing the data above, it could be inferred that mobilisation cannot take place since standards and expectations can vary greatly from one court assignment to the other. However, P16 shared a different experience. From the defendant's/witness's viewpoint, she believed that once they have met an interpreter, they will know what the role of the interpreter is. Although she believed that this was the case, she would still briefly explain her role at the beginning of the hearing. This view is shared by P5, who also believed that "most of the time the defendant is aware of what we are here for and hopefully they had interpreters

before and hopefully we all behave the same way, professionally” (Sic. P5: 343-5). Furthermore, it appears that some court members can also be mobilised. When introducing herself and her role to a court, P11 said that once, a magistrate replied to her, “Yes, I understand. I know” (P11: L289) which suggests that mobilisation can occur. This was borne out by P7, who believed that she had established a working relationship with the court actors as she has interpreted for them on several past occasions. Furthermore, P5 believed that not only did the court staff know what her role was, but they also acted as safeguards who “want[ed] to make sure that [she didn’t] go further than [her] role” (P5: L359).

All in all, it appears that the interessement and enrolment phases would occur simultaneously, and that most participants did not have to deploy further strategies to enrol the other actors in the court hearing. The mobilisation phase was more problematic, where some participants believed that due to a difference in terms of interpreting standards and the use of agencies, the various court actors were not mobilised. Others shared a different opinion: P5, for example, believed that not only were some court participants mobilised, but they also safeguarded her role.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the analysis of the eighteen participants’ interviews through the four *Translation* phases. It emerges that the participants identified some recurring actors (e.g. the magistrates/judges, solicitor/barrister, defendant/witness) present in each participant’s network, whilst other court actors (e.g. the representative from Witness Protection or the usher) were named by only a few participants. Although the participants did not offer a uniform definition, they all articulated the interpreter’s role around the concept of a language transfer, which would be affected by the use of VC equipment to varying degrees, and some mentioned that their role was hindered by the use of VC equipment, whilst others believed it was enhanced. In order to interest the other court participants, and to be able to work as language transfer actors, the participants would deploy various interessement devices. Most devices were narrated in face-to-face situations, which could be due to the fact that most participants’ role perceptions were not affected by the use of VC equipment. However, these interessement devices would enable them to act mainly within the remits of a language transfer,

and the participants did not believe that they had any influence on how the overall hearing was conducted. Instead, the participants defined the judge, and more indirectly the VC equipment as potential *primum movens*. Furthermore, the interessement and enrolment phases occurred simultaneously and no further negotiation (except in the case of one participant) was needed. Finally, the mobilisation phase gathered more diverse data, whereby some participants would argue that due to the difference in standards and the use of private interpreting agencies, such a phase could not occur. However, other participants experienced a different scenario as the court actors were already mobilised at the start of the court hearing.

Building on these different role perceptions and interessement devices deployed, the next chapter will discuss the correlations between the role-space models created in Chapter 5 and the networks and *Translation* process implemented by the eighteen participants.

Chapter 7: Discussion of findings

Chapter 5 analysed eighteen court interpreters' perceptions of their role through role-space. Their presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management in VCI A and/or VCI B differed to varying degrees. As a result, their role-space models were dissimilar. Despite these disparities, Chapter 6 went on to reveal how the eighteen court interpreters mainly defined their role as one of a language transfer, and thirty interessement devices were identified. This chapter correlates the results of Chapters 5 and 6, and drawing on the findings from Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4, its aim is to conceptualise these eighteen court interpreters' perceptions of their role when interpreting in VCI. It also aims to examine why their models differ, given that their role definitions are rather similar. It concludes by providing some recommendations on the use of *ANT/Translation* and role-space as theoretical frameworks in IS, together with some practical recommendations on the use of VCI in court settings in England.

1. Reflection on the participants' role disparities

Chapter 5 showed that the eighteen participants had created various role-space models in VCI. Based on the literature review chapters and on the methodological approach adopted in this study, this section examines whether the use of VCI can reflect a true-to-life experience, and the extent to which previous actor-networks shape the interpreter's perception of her role during a VCI hearing.

1.1. Questioning VCI as a true-to-life experience

As discussed in Chapter 1, van Rotterdam and van den Hoogen (2011) argue that the use of VC equipment cannot represent a true-to-life experience due to various factors affecting the proceedings (such as potential poor quality of sound/picture, establishing eye contact, participants' reactions/interactions, etc.). In this doctoral study, parts of the data confirm that the absence of body language, and back channelling, for instance, were highlighted as factors affecting some participants' experience. These findings align with other studies discussed in Chapter 1, which analyse the impact of the use of technologies. For instance, Rosenberg (2007) argues that it may be more difficult for the interpreter to understand dialects or regional accents in Telephone Interpreting. Even though VCI differs from TI as VCI brings a visual support, P9 mentioned that it was more difficult to understand

accents at times, than in face-to-face settings. Radburn-Remfry (1994) also argues that in a mono-lingual setting, participants in court may feel more emotionally detached from the defendant during VC hearings, while Hodges (2008) raises questions regarding the working relations between the defendant and the defence counsel. Supporting their studies, P1 felt that the defendant had not been taking part in his own hearing as he was too divorced from the proceedings, and she believed that at this point, the right to see due legal process taking place could be questioned.

However, some impeding factors highlighted in the literature review were not identified by the participants. For instance, Ellis (2004) argues that the interpreters surveyed felt more fatigue when interpreting in VCI, which was not an issue raised during the interviews with the eighteen participants. This could be due to the fact that all participants mentioned that the hearings were short, which could reduce such risk of fatigue. Furthermore, P10 agreed that VC equipment restricted body language expressions, which aligns with Fowler (2013)'s findings, for instance. However, he did not believe that body language played a role when interpreting. This contradicts studies that demonstrate the importance for the interpreter to be able to read the participants' body language, as discussed in Chapter 1, and it highlights P10's lack of awareness regarding its importance. Moreover, the participants did not raise concerns about not being able to "determine the provenance of the sound" or "see what is on each other's desk" (van Rotterdam & van den Hoogen, 2011, p. 189), which seems to contradict the importance given to such factors by interpreters, as discussed in van Rotterdam and van den Hoogen (2011). Finally, it is also worth noting that P9 and P10 believed that VCI A, for instance, helped them not to talk to the defendant, in which case the use of VC equipment enhanced their experience as the court interpreter, for they perceived that they could remain neutral.

Overall, the data analysed in this doctoral thesis confirm parts of the literature review in the sense that the use of VCI can affect the interpreter's perception of a true-to-life experience. However, the participants' experience was not homogeneous and was even contradictory in some parts. For instance, P9 believed that when the defendant did not speak with a strong regional accent, there were no differences whether the hearing was conducted in face-to-face or

VCI A mode. However, P1 raised some severe criticisms due to the defendant being so divorced from the process in VCI A. This plurality of participants' perceptions reflects ANT's epistemological stance and the actors' multivocality, as discussed in Chapter 4. The array of perceptions is a window opening onto the actors' various realities, which suggests that a true-to-life experience can be a rather subjective notion, and aspects of VC equipment can be beneficial when conducting a VCI hearing.

1.2. The effect of previous actor-networks

The interpreters' contradictory role perception in this study is not a new phenomenon, and some studies in IS offer several factors justifying the interpreters' perceptions of their role differently. These factors tend to be anchored within the interpreter's previous experience, which, in ANT terms, would refer the interpreter's creation of actor-networks prior to the event under scrutiny. For instance, Martin and Abril Martí (2008)'s findings in face-to-face settings reveal that their participants did perceive their role differently. In their study, they argue that such differences in role perceptions could be explained by the fact that their participants were not all trained in the field of Translation and Interpreting. In this thesis, all the participants had achieved the same minimum qualification requirement, namely the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting⁶⁷. When comparing similar profiles in terms of qualifications, some participants such as P15, P16, and P7 had all passed the DPSI local government, but their role-spaces differ greatly in VCI A. Furthermore, P2, P3, and P4, for instance, were all trained by P1 in the same DPSI centre. However, their role-spaces differed in VCI B. These findings suggest that if training and/or qualification obtained in previous actor-networks were to play a role in shaping role-perception, this could only be one factor among others.

Similarly, Merlini (2009) examines interactions and (a)symmetries in face-to-face medical settings. In her study, the findings reveal that cultural acceptability may influence the way in which the triadic interaction between the interpreter, the patient, and the doctor is taking place. As this thesis' research questions were not designed to explicitly explore cultural acceptability, the data gathered can only

⁶⁷ To the exception of P1.

shed partial light on the impact of cultural acceptability on the interpreter's interaction management and role perception. P15 and P18's role-spaces share striking resemblance in VCI B for instance, despite the fact that P15 and the defendant were originally from an Eastern European country, and P18 and her defendant came from the Far East. According to Victor (1992, p. 143)'s contextualizing cline, the two interpreters (and their respective defendants) are on the diametrically opposite side of the culture-specific interaction models, which does not explain the reason why P15 and P18 have a similar role-space. Although this data cannot concur or reject Merlini (2009)'s findings, it still suggests that in court hearings conducted in VCI, factors other than cultural acceptability contribute in shaping these eighteen participants' role.

Finally, one could also question the extent to which professional experience shapes the interpreter's understanding of her role. In this study, P1 and P2 in VCI B have many years of experience as court interpreters (20 and 15 years, respectively), but their role-spaces differ. Similarly, P6 and P10 have both interpreted over ten times in VCI, but the role-spaces created are also different. Therefore, the previous actor-networks that they had created were not, in terms of professional experience, the principle contributor in shaping their role perceptions.

All in all, the possibility of VC equipment allowing the hearing to be conducted as a true-to-life court hearing, or not, is debatable. The data in this thesis does not allow the researcher to examine this area in more depth, but it suggests that what constitutes a true-to-life experience amongst interpreters is rather subjective. Furthermore, the influence of previous actor-networks (qualifications, years of experience as a court interpreter, the number of VCI assignments, and the culture/language combinations) may have a rather limited impact, if any at all, on the participants' role perception in VCI in this study. This is why the next section compares and contrasts the participants' role-space models and the findings from the body of literature to examine whether other factors may contribute to shaping the interpreter's role perception.

2. The court interpreter's perception of her role-space

As already discussed, the interview analysis gathered an array of role perceptions and role-space models. This section aims to identify the reasons why the

role-space differed between the participants. To do so, this section first compares and contrasts the eighteen participants' model shapes with that of Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, pp. 74-79)'s court interpreter role-space model. Later, the factors that affect each axis are discussed in more detail.

2.1. The role-space models and their shapes

When reflecting about the role-space that they had created during a face-to-face court hearing, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) stated that their presentation of self had been low, and their interaction management had been quite high.

Furthermore, they had aligned equally between all the participants in court. Their role-space model's shape can be represented as a four-face pyramid as illustrated in Figure 20 below.

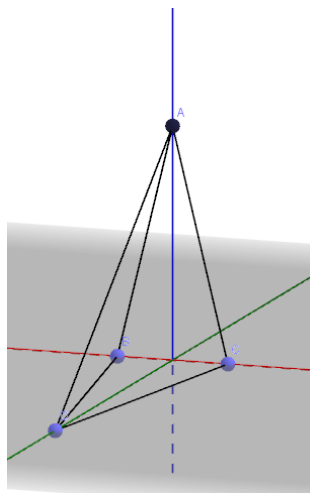


Figure 20: Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's model in court interpreting

When comparing their model shape with those of the eighteen participants taking part in this study, only P6's models in VCI A and VCI B reflect Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s experience. Indeed, her presentation of self had been low, and her interaction management had been quite high. She also aligned equally between the court participants, although her alignment span was slightly higher between her parties.

Notwithstanding the above, other participants' models⁶⁸ shared, to various degrees, some resemblance with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s court model. Indeed, they all had created a four-face pyramidal shape similar to that in Figure

⁶⁸ P1, P2, P5, P6, P7, P9, and P17 in VCI A, and P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, and P11 in VCI B.

20 above, but the level of their presentation of self, participant alignment, and/or interaction management had differed (the reasons for which are analysed in Section 2.2 below).

As discussed in Chapter 5, other participants had perceived their interaction management as a continuum ranging from very low/low to quite high/high⁶⁹. This aligns with Chapter 2's findings as certain scholars (such as Inghilleri, 2003; Pöchhacker, 2008a; Wadensjö, 1998) argued that the role was a more fluid notion, and interpreters could adopt various roles that could be described along a continuum (Bot, 2009) or as various positionings (Mason, 2009). In such a case, the participants' interaction management was described as a continuum, and their role-space model's shape was that of a five-face pyramid, as illustrated in Figure 21 below.

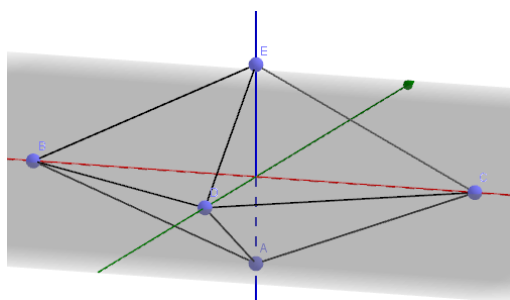


Figure 21: Five-face pyramidal shape

Although this shape differs from that of Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's in court, it shares some similarity with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 82)'s role-space model for conference interpreters. Indeed, they all perceived their interaction management as a continuum, therefore giving another dimension to their model shape.

All in all, the participants in this study could be grouped between participants whose interaction management was fixed⁷⁰, and therefore creating a four-face pyramid, and those who believed that their interaction management was to be adapted throughout the hearing⁷¹, and for whom their role-spaces are represented

⁶⁹ P8, P14, P15, P16, and P18 in VCI A, and P2, P14, P15, P16, and P18 in VCI B.

⁷⁰ P1, P3, P5, P6, P7, P9, and P17 in VCI A, and P1, P3, P4, P5, and P6 in VCI B.

⁷¹ P8, P14, P15, P16, and P18 in VCI A, and P2, P15, P16, and P18 in VCI B.

by a five-face pyramid. These role-space shapes concur with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s study.

However, some participants had created two role-space models within the same IME. P10 in VCI A and P13 in VCI B had created two two-dimensional triangles as their interaction management and presentation of self had been different, depending on whether they referred to the defendant/witness or the participants in court. P12 in VCI A, and P14 and P17 in VCI B had also created two different role-spaces. However, their model shape is a two three-dimensional pyramid. Although their presentation of self had differed between the parties, they had perceived their interaction management as a continuum both for the defendant/witness and the participants in court, and not as a fixed entity as P12 and P14 did. This demonstrates that the role-space shape depends not only on whether the participants perceive their interaction management as being fixed or as a continuum, but also on whether the interpreter adopts one role amongst all the participants, or adapts her role depending on whether the participants are in court or in the remote location.

The data analysed by Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) was gathered from various conference, court, and escort interpreting settings, and they argue that each setting presents different interaction goals. As such, the interpreter creates different role-space shape, taking into account the interactional goal. The creation of different roles, depending on the participants' interactional goals, has also been discussed by Kaczmarek (2016), and his studies concur with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's findings. However, it could be argued that in this study, the interactional goal may have been rather similar in each of the participants' assignments described during the interview: interpreting during a pre-trial hearing where the main bulk of the work consists of dealing with administrative queries, and during which the defendant's participation is limited⁷². Nonetheless, the participants' role-space shapes differ greatly, which suggests that if interactional goals were to shape, even quite broadly, the interpreters' models in this study, this factor would only have a limited effect. For these reasons, the next sub-section will focus on the

⁷² This also applies for witness testimony. Indeed, when examining the role-space models for participants who interpreted for witnesses in VCI A (P10 and P17) and/or VCI B (P4, P11, P14, and P16), their role-space shapes differ greatly.

role-space axis level to analyse whether the factors affecting the interpreter's role perception are determined at a more micro-level.

2.2. The role-space axes

This sub-section aims to discuss the participants' presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management analysed in Chapter 5 by comparing and contrasting each axis with its counterpart in Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s model when they interpreted in court, and in light of Chapter 1's and Chapter 2's findings.

2.2.1. Presentation of self

Similarly to Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, pp. 77-79)'s model describing a personal account when interpreting in court, most participants' presentation of self had been low, except in the case of P1 (VCI A and VCI B) and P8 (in VCI A). As discussed in Chapter 5, these two participants felt that their presentation of self had been very low as they had not been able to introduce themselves to the participants, or they had not been sworn-in, unlike the other participants. In her study, Fowler (2013) also observed that some interpreters were not introduced at the start of the hearing. In such instances, there was "a tendency for the interpreter to defer to the court in matters which were properly part of their own professional remit" (Fowler, 2013, p. 245). Similarly, in this study, some interpreters were introduced and /or sworn-in. However, others were not, and in such instances, they deferred to the court by not intervening to raise it as an issue, the consequence of which will be discussed later in Section 3.

In its *Code of Professional Conduct*, the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011) makes little reference to any aspects of the interpreter's presentation of self, and no reference at all to the importance of being sworn-in in court. However, it explicitly states that interpreters must be an impartial actor. On this note, P1 raised concerns about the possibility for the interpreter to be perceived as an impartial participant. Indeed, she believed that her VCI A experience was conflicting with article 3.12 of the *Code of Professional Conduct*. Her concerns arose as she had been sitting next to the prosecution barrister, and she questioned the extent to which the defendant would perceive her as an impartial actor in court. This sitting arrangement contrasts with Fowler (2013)'s

study where the interpreter is usually located next to the court clerk, the defence lawyer, or in a corner near the in-court consultation facilities. Furthermore, P1 raised concerns regarding the sitting arrangement as it has been identified as a potential issue in the Avidicus 2's research report (Braun, 2013b), where their findings show that "the seating arrangements gave the impression that the participants on one side of the video link spoke 'as one' or 'could be perceived as one'" (Braun, 2013b, p. 53). Interestingly, no other interpreters in this study raised the sitting arrangement as a concern, or as a factor affecting their presentation of self. This may be due to the fact that most stated that they were interpreting from the witness box or near the defence lawyer. In such instances, their position may have enabled them to perceive themselves as impartial actors. However, as mentioned in Chapter 5, P9 was sitting next to the judge, which she did not perceive as an issue. Based on Braun (2013b)'s findings and P1's experience, the other participants, and in particular the defendant's perceptions of her as an impartial actor may be questioned. In VCI B, P1 raised similar concerns as by sitting next to the defendant, she believed that the court actors' perceptions of her impartiality may be affected, and that there was a higher risk of the defendant 'fraternising' with her. It is worth noting that the participants in Braun et al. (2016b)'s study raise similar concerns in VCI B regarding, amongst others, the relation between the defendant and the interpreter or the interpreter's safety (Braun et al., 2016b). Interestingly, the vast majority of participants in this study did not raise concerns with this sitting arrangement in VCI B once the hearing started, which could lead to question the extent to which they perceive the sitting arrangement as having an effect on their impartiality, for instance.

Furthermore, this study's findings reveal that the interpreter's presentation of self can also differ between the court participants. This was the case for P10 and P12 in VCI A, and P13, P14, and P17 in VCI B. They all perceived that their presentation of self with the person with whom they had been physically present had been low, and very low with the remote party. However, they did not question the impact this could have on the overall interaction, or how the participants may perceive the interpreter herself. It should also be noted that this case scenario is not foreseen by Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014). Although they argue that the presentation of self can be described alongside a continuum in the case of a

signed-spoken language simultaneous conference interpreter during an assignment (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 84), they do not examine cases where the presentation of self is in fact different between the participants. It could be hypothesised that this is due to the fact that all the parties met in person in their study. However, in this study, the physical distance between the participants led some interpreters to create two different presentations of self.

Another interesting point was raised by P14, although this had occurred in face-to-face mode. She stated that she would talk about football, for instance, with the defendant before the start of the hearing. In such a case, her presentation of self would be much higher. Then she became much more distant when the hearing started, so her presentation of self during the court hearing was much lower. To some extent, this aligns with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's experience as their presentation of self also differed, depending on whether they had been interpreting during the court hearing or during "informal interaction while waiting for [the] barrister to return" (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 77). It therefore appears that the interpreter can adjust her presentation of self during different parts of an assignment. However, to my knowledge, there is currently no research on the impact that such a shift in the presentation of self has on the other court participants, and more specifically on the defendant's or witness's perception of the interpreter. It would appear that the interpreter believes that she can adapt her presentation of self, depending on the context in which she interprets. But P14, for instance, did not question what impact(s) this could have on the other participants, and how the knowledge that the defendant, witness or the court participants acquired during the encounter affected their perception and their relation with the interpreter for the rest of the hearing.

Most participants had a similar presentation of self to that of Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s court interpreter model. However, for two participants, the presentation of self differed because they had not been able to introduce themselves and/or be sworn-in in VCI. The use of VC equipment also meant that other participants had a different presentation of self between the participants in court and the defendant, which is a new scenario that was not foreseen in Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s models.

2.2.2. Participant alignment

As discussed in Chapter 6, approximately half of the participants had aligned equally between the actors on each side of the screen⁷³ during the court hearing, which reflects Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s participant alignment when interpreting in court. These participants perceived that they had been able to remain impartial between the court participants, as stated in Clause 5.9 of the NRPSI (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*, by not entering into a discussion or being asked for advice.

The remaining participants had aligned more towards the court participant(s) with whom they had been co-present⁷⁴. These participants felt that the technical difficulties encountered, and/or the lack of feedback or back-channelling opportunities had not enabled them to establish a rapport with the court participant(s) on the other side of the screen. As a result, their participant alignment with the remote party had been lower⁷⁵. These findings align with Rombouts (2011)'s and Napier (2011a)'s studies which reveal that it is more difficult to establish a rapport with the remote party, or with Braun (2016a, p. 4) who asserts that VCI "entail[s] a reduction in the quality of the intersubjective relations between the participants." However, it is also interesting to note that when the interpreters' participant alignment differs, in this study, between actors, there had been a greater tendency to align towards the participants in court, rather than the witness or, to even a lesser extent, the defendant. Finally, Braun *et al.* (2016b, p31) argue that the picture-in-picture facility is a means for the interpreter to "check the image that is sent to the court and improve [her] position if necessary". However, similarly to Braun *et al.* (2016b) and Fowler (2013)'s studies, some participants in this study complained of the fact that the picture-in-picture facility obstructed their view, and they were unaware of the benefits that this facility may have to improve their participant alignment with the remote participants.

⁷³ P5, P6, P14, P15 in VCI A, and P1, P2, P5, P6, P11(1), P15, P18 in VCI B.

⁷⁴ P1, P3, P7, P8, P9, P16, P17, P18 in VCI A, and P3, P4, P11(2), P16 in VCI B.

⁷⁵ There is one exception. P11 reported that she had been hiding from the screen after the start of the VCI B hearing, since she believed that interpreters should be invisible. However, by doing so, she deliberately reduced her alignment with the participants in court.

All in all, some participants felt that they had been able to align equally between the parties, as described in Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s model for court interpreters. However, due to the distance and the use of VC equipment some had aligned more towards the party with whom they were co-present. Although this study's findings partly corroborate the difficulty to establish a rapport with the remote party, as highlighted in Chapter 1, they also suggest that there are alignment disparities between the court actors, and amongst all the participants, the defendant is the party that the interpreter may be the least willing to over-align towards.

2.2.3. Interaction management

As summarised in Tables 5 and 6 in Chapter 5, the interaction management axis generated many different perceptions. A few participants believed that the use of VC equipment had slightly reduced their interaction management, but overall it had remained quite high⁷⁶, which is similar to Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s experience as court interpreters. However, other participants had a high⁷⁷ interaction management, whilst others had perceived it as ranging from low to high⁷⁸. Only a few participants had felt that their interaction management had been low⁷⁹. To some extent, the data gathered in this thesis concurs partially with the literature review in Chapters 1 and 2, in the sense that court interpreters have to manage the interaction by giving turns, for instance (Angelelli, 2003; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014; Martin & Abril Martí, 2008), and they have to do so even more when technologies are used, to the extent that they become fully-fledged independent actors (J. Lee, 2007; Rosenberg, 2007). Similarly, Braun (2016a) argues that the discourse is more fragmented in VCI-conducted legal proceedings, and it is therefore not surprising that many participants had a quite high or high interaction management.

However, this thesis' data also reveal that the interaction management in VCI A and B can be lower. Indeed, some participants had not managed the interaction as they had not dared to interrupt the proceedings, when needed (see P9 for

⁷⁶ P6 in VCI A, and P4 and P6 in VCI B.

⁷⁷ P5, and P9 in VCI A, and P3, P5, and P11 in VCI B.

⁷⁸ P8, P14, P15, P16, P18 in VCI A, and P2, P15, P16, and P18 in VCI B.

⁷⁹ P1, P3, P7, and P17 in VCI A, and P1 in VCI B.

instance). This concurs with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 79)'s belief in face-to-face that due to "the formality of the setting" some interpreters may be "more reticent in halting the proceedings". Another explanation for the interpreter's reluctance to intervene could also lie in the fact that, at least in VCI B, "interpreters claim that when they are located at the remote site it is difficult for them to make their presence felt" and "they need to be more 'forceful' than in traditional hearings (Braun et al., 2016b, p. 31). Furthermore, some participants also believed that the judge was more attentive to the interpreter's needs, and the use of VC equipment had in fact reduced the need to manage the interaction, as discussed in Chapter 5. As reported by Fowler (2013), among others, participants in this study also mentioned that the hearings were very short. This could be another factor contributing to a low interaction management. This therefore suggests that although the use of VC equipment can lead the interpreter to manage the interaction pro-actively, it can also lead to a situation where the use of VC equipment means that the interpreter may not need/feel able or allowed to manage the interaction.

Finally, the data also reveals that the participants perceived that their interaction management could differ between the parties. Indeed, P10 in VCI A, and P13 in VCI B felt that their interaction management had always been higher with the party with whom they had been co-present. As per the presentation of self above, the physical distance between the court participants made P10 and P13 manage their interaction between the court participants differently. However, no participant raised any concerns on managing the interaction differently, which may affect the overall interaction and the court participants' perception of the interpreter.

Overall, the interpreters managed their interaction differently, with some taking a pro-active role when needed, and others refraining from intervening. Although these results concur with the findings from the literature review, they do not really explain why there exists a dichotomy between those who felt that they could intervene, whilst others believed that they could not. Furthermore, the findings also reveal a case scenario that has not been previously examined in IS, which is the interpreter managing the interaction differently, depending on where the parties are located.

To conclude, some of the results obtained concur with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s experience when interpreting in a face-to-face hearing. Indeed, some participants had a low presentation of self, and/or quite high interaction management and/or they aligned equally between the participants. However, the findings also demonstrate that some participants had a very low presentation of self or interaction management, and they had not aligned equally with the court actors. In this case, comparing and contrasting the eighteen participants' models to the literature findings in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 only brings a limited understanding regarding the impact that VC equipment had on shaping the models. The use of VC equipment infers the creation of physical distance between the participants, and its consequence (such as the difficulty to establish a rapport or the use of VC equipment has an impersonal means of communication) has been reported widely by, for instance, Braun *et al.* (2016b), Ellis (2004), and Fowler (2013), as discussed in Chapter 2. In this study, the distance is a recurring factor that may have an impact on shaping the participants' perceptions of each of the axes. By combining these role-space models with *Translation*, the next section sheds light on the question why the use of VC equipment can shape role perceptions differently.

3. Role-space and *Translation*

Building on Section 2 above, this section correlates the participants' role-space models to their *Translation* process. The aim is to examine whether there is a link between the participants' position in their actor-network and the creation of their role-space in relation with the VC equipment. To do so, the first part examines how their perceptions of the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*, as an ANT inscription⁸⁰, affects the participants' role definition. Then, their position as an Obligatory Passage Point within their network is correlated to their role-space model shapes. Finally, the last part discusses how the participants negotiate and implement their role perception.

3.1. Role definitions and codes of conduct

As discussed in Chapter 6, the participants defined their role mainly as one of a language transfer during a face-to-face hearing. This definition aligns with various

⁸⁰ See Chapter 3.

studies (such as Angelelli, 2003; Laster & Taylor, 1994; Mason, 2009) in which the interpreter is mainly perceived as a “language-switching operator” (Angelelli, 2003, p. 16). According to this definition, the interpreter is considered as a conduit or translation machine (see Chapter 2), in which “faithfulness to the content and a sense of the message and accuracy have frequently been the sole stated goal of interpretation” (Angelelli, 2003, p. 16). The interpreter also manages the interaction by intervening to explain cultural differences or seek clarifications, and as discussed in Chapter 5, the participants in this study had done so to varying degrees.

This definition of the interpreter as a conduit, who can also intervene in some circumstances, forms the overarching principle in the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)’s *Code of Professional Conduct*. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, codes of conduct, and in this case, the NRPSI’s, are prescriptive with a main focus on the conduit model, where the interpreter is expected not to omit or add anything, or give her opinion for instance. However, the NRPSI’s code takes into consideration the fact that the interpreter may be required to manage the interaction by intervening in order to explain cultural references and seek clarifications or repetitions. In fact, it is striking that Article 5 in the NRPSI (2011)’s *Code of Professional Conduct*, which defines what the interpreter is expected to do when interpreting, refers principally to how the interpreter should transfer the linguistic content from one language to another. The main focus is on some interpreting aspects such as addition, omission, terminology, cultural references, and clarification; most of which would refer to the interpreter’s interaction management skills. However, this code makes little explicit reference to the interpreter’s presentation of self in court, to the exception of Clause 5.8 which states that the interpreter “shall observe any special rules and protocols relating to interpreting in the professional context relevant to a particular commission of work”. However, this is rather vague, and it does not make any specific reference to the interpreter, whether or not she should be introduced and/or sworn-in in court, for instance. Similarly, participant alignment is reduced to ensuring that the interpreter remains neutral/does not express an opinion within an IME. As such, it could be argued that the main features of the interpreter’s role, as described by the NRPSI (2011)’s *Code of Professional Conduct* is on the interpreter’s

interaction management, and the interpreter's presentation of self and participant alignment are not as important role features as the interaction management.

When describing their role in face-to-face, there seems to be, at first glance, some disparities between some participants' role definition and the experience that they narrate. For instance, although P5 defined her role as one of a language transfer, she would also ensure that the defendant's rights are upheld. However, this does not suggest that P5, for instance, would become the advocate for the minority language speaker, as defined by Hale (2008). In fact, this study does not find any role definition that would match closely the numerous role definitions and their criteria discussed in Chapter 2. Some participants shared common role features. For instance, P14 had tried to comfort a witness, which could be akin to the role of the advocate for the minority speaker. However, P14 did not report helping the witness "express themselves more efficiently [or] answer the questions more relevantly" as stated by Hale (2008, p. 106). In general, then, and even though some differences were noted as part of their role perception, the participants defined their role, in face-to-face court settings, within the remit of a language transfer, in accordance with the NRPSI (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*.

When interpreting in VCI, participants still defined their role as one of a language transfer. As discussed in Chapter 6, most believed that the use of VC equipment had, to varying degrees, some impact, as participants felt that the remit of their role had been more restricted than in face-to-face, but two participants believed it could enhance aspects of their role. For instance, instead of interpreting fully the court exchange, some participants provided the defendant with a summary. The National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* provides the possibility to summarise in exceptional circumstances. However, the code does not define what 'exceptional circumstances' means, and whether or not VCI would qualify as falling within this category. Using The NRPSI (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* to define the interpreter's role does only very partially explain why some participants felt that their role had been more restricted, and it does not explain why some of them felt that they could not intervene when needed (see Chapter 6).

Overall, the participants defined their role in line with their code of conduct in a face-to-face setting, which puts a particular emphasis on interaction management. However, the *Code of Professional Conduct* does not shed much light on why most participants felt that their role perception was affected, albeit to varying degrees. Keeping in mind the importance of codes of conduct as an ANT's inscription, the next sub-section examines how the interpreter positions herself within her network.

3.2. Role perception in the networks

As discussed in Chapter 6, the participants had not defined themselves as *primum movens*. Instead, they believed that the judge or the VC equipment had been the main actor in the network. This part compares and contrasts their role-space models with the findings from Chapter 6 in order to shed light on how their position within the network shapes their role-space model.

3.2.1. An OPP from a language-transfer perspective

As mentioned before, the participants had perceived their role as one of a language transfer. As a result, the interaction management had been quite high/high or ranging from very low/ low to quite high/ high for most of them⁸¹. They had intervened to manage the interaction in the network, which means that they had defined themselves as an OPP on the interaction management axis.

Regarding the presentation of self and the participant alignment, some participants' axes were very similar to Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s role-space model for court interpreters. In such cases, the judge had asked them to introduce themselves/be sworn-in, or the VC equipment allowed them to obtain feedback, for instance. However, as discussed in Section 2.2 above, several participants had had a very low presentation of self, and/or they had aligned more with the party with whom they had been physically present. These different positions on the axes arose from the physical distance created when VC equipment was used or from the instructions given by the judge, and the participants had not intervened to re-adjust their presentation of self and/or participant alignment. Under these circumstances and in accordance with ANT, it

⁸¹ To the exception of P1, P3, P7, and P17 in VCI A, and P1 in VCI B, which are analysed further below.

can be argued that they had defined the VC equipment or the judge as the OPP, which had dictated their position on the presentation of self and/or participant alignment axis.

To some extent, the fact that the interpreter would define herself as an OPP on the interaction management axis, but not on the presentation of self or participant alignment axes is rather unsurprising given that the interpreter defines her role in accordance with the NRPSI's *Code of Professional Conduct*, as discussed in 3.1 above. Therefore, there may even be little attempt from the participants to define themselves as OPP on the participant alignment or presentation of self axis.

Two exceptions can be noticed. When P1 believed that the tenet of impartiality would be breached due to the use of VC equipment, she had tried to deploy interessement devices to counterbalance her participant alignment⁸². In this instance, P1 intervened covertly, and only as she believed that she could be in breach of her code of conduct. Furthermore, P11 had reduced her alignment deliberately as she believed that court interpreters should be invisible. This raises further questions as to how court interpreters' subjective understanding of their role and their interpretation of the NRPSI (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* affect the axes in their role-space.

All in all, most participants had defined themselves as an OPP regarding their interaction management, in line with the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*. However, they had not done so for their presentation of self or participant alignment. As a result, some of them had a lower presentation of self, or they over-aligned with one party. In such cases, their role-space model was represented as a four- or five-face pyramid, within which the participant had limited their sphere of influence to interaction management.

Notwithstanding the above, some participants had not defined themselves as an OPP on the interaction management axis, even though they perceived their role as that of a language transfer. Indeed, P1, P3, P7, and P17 in VCI A, and P1 in

⁸² Interestingly, P1 used a covert strategy as an interessement device. Indeed, she turned her back to the prosecution barrister to form a physical barrier in an attempt to re-balance her participant alignment. For more information, please see her role-space model in VCI in Appendix A.

VCI B presented a very low or low interaction management when interpreting in court. As discussed in Chapter 6, they had not been willing to intervene (P3 and P7), or as the remote party had been disengaged from the hearing, there had been no need to manage the interaction (P1 and P17). The data does not allow to extrapolate more when the remote party felt so remote that the interpreter had not had the need to manage the interaction. Nonetheless, P3 and P7 had not intervened to manage the interaction when needed, despite defining their role as one of a language transfer. According to Moeketsi and Wallmach (2005, pp. 87-88), interpreters “often feel that they lack sufficient status in the courtroom to countermand what often amounts to explicit instructions by the bench to interpret literally”. In this study, this lack of status extends to the interpreter feeling that they could not intervene to manage the interaction. Furthermore, the interpreter not defining herself as an OPP on any of the axis aligns with Mason (2009), who argues that the interpreter does not consider herself as a participant but as a “non-person” who is “simply responding automatically when prompted to do so” (Mason, 2009, p. 57). All in all, P3 and P7 had defined themselves as passive actors in the network on all the axes. As a result, the role-space models created is a four-face pyramid which shares some resemblance, to varying degrees, in terms of presentation of self and participant alignment with the participants’ role-space model described above, but their interaction management is diametrically opposed to that of the other participants who defined themselves as OPP with regard to the language transfer.

The findings reveal that most participants had defined themselves as the OPP on the interaction management axis, but they had not defined themselves as OPP from a presentation of self or participant alignment⁸³ viewpoint. Their definition as OPP reflects the fact that the NRPSI (2011)’s *Code of Professional Conduct* put the main emphasis on managing the interaction. In that case, the interpreter feels that she can intervene to manage the interaction. However, she will not intervene to rebalance their presentation of self or participant alignment. In such cases, the participants’ role-space is represented by a 4-or-5-shape pyramid.

3.2.2. Creating sub-networks

⁸³ To the exception of P1 and P11.

As discussed in Section 2 above, some participants' role-space was represented by two two- or three-dimensional pyramids. This resulted from the fact that these participants perceived that their role-space with the remote party differed from that of the co-present. In this instance, the participants had created two separate sub-networks, in which they had designed a role-space for the participants in court, and a different one for the defendant/witness.

The interpreter perceiving her role differently between participants has been succinctly examined in IS, and Laster and Taylor (1994) argue that the interpreter can adopt different roles to respond to role conflicts or different expectations set by the various parties in court, whether it be the defendant, the judge or the lawyers. In this thesis, the interpreter's presentation of self or interaction management differed between the parties, which resulted from the use of VC equipment, and more specifically from the physical distance that it had created. For instance, they had not been able to introduce themselves and/or manage the interaction with the remote party. In such circumstances, the five participants concerned in this study always had a higher interaction management and/or presentation of self with the co-present party. They had defined themselves as OPP from an interaction management viewpoint with the co-present party, creating one sub-network. However, as they had not defined themselves as OPP for the presentation of self, participant alignment, and/or the interaction management with the remote party, and they had allowed another actor to be the OPP (be it the judge and/or the VC equipment), thus creating another sub-network with the remote party.

Although the data call for a degree of caution with regard to generalisation owing to the sample size, correlating the participants' role-space and their role as an OPP on some axes (or not) within the network offers a number of interesting discoveries.

- The court interpreter defines her role in accordance with the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*. By doing so, she defines herself as an OPP to manage the interaction. However, she does not define herself as an OPP with regard to her presentation of self or participant alignment.

- By not defining herself as an OPP from the presentation of self and participant alignment viewpoints, she becomes a passive actor on these two axes, and her role-space aligns to what the OPP in the network dictates, which explains why court interpreters create different role-space models when VC equipment is used, in response to the OPP's expectations.
- Responding to the OPP's expectation may also explain the reason why some interpreters with experience in both VCI A and VCI B created different role-space models.
- When the interpreter defines herself as an OPP only with the co-present party, she creates two adjacent role-spaces.

It was argued in Sections 1 and 2 of this chapter that if qualification, training, cultural acceptability, personal experience, and interactional goals were playing any role, if at all, in shaping the court interpreter's role perception in VCI mode, these factors only had a limited impact, and they could not be used to explain the variety of role-space models in this study. However, by combining role-space and *Translation* together, it appears that the main factor influencing their role perception is the extent to which the court interpreter defines herself as an OPP in the network, and on which axis. Furthermore, if she does not define herself as an OPP on one or more of the role-space axes, her role-space model will then depend on the OPP's perception of what the court interpreter's role should be in the network.

3.3. Negotiating their role perceptions

In Callon (1986)'s study, the three researchers classified their various protagonists into three categories: the scientist community, the fishermen, and the scallops. They were grouped based on the vested interest that each group had in the network, as discussed in Chapter 3. Callon (1986) also argues that each group's interest differed from that of the other groups. For instance, the scientists wanted to further improve their knowledge about how a specific species of scallops could anchor, whereas the fishermen wanted to increase their fishing stock. In this doctoral thesis, the participants' approach to grouping the other actors in the VCI hearing was dissimilar. Based on Callon (1986)'s study, it could have been

hypothesised that the participants in this study would have also created three groups such as: the judicial (such as the judge and the usher), the prosecution (including any witnesses for this party), and the defence (including the defendant and any witnesses) as this kind of grouping would be based on each group's common interest. In fact, the participants divided the court actors on the basis of their physical location, and groups with different aims (such as the prosecution and the defence) formed one entity. Therefore, unlike in Callon (1986)'s work, when VC equipment is used, the actors are distributed according to their physical location in the network.

Unsurprisingly, once the grouping was identified, any negotiation taking place in the network was carried out in accordance with the physical location of the participants, and not according to individual interests in the VCI hearing. In other words, the interpreter would manage, for instance, the interaction on the other side of the screen for all the participants, and would not differentiate between the prosecution and the defence, for instance.

3.4. Implementing their role perception

As discussed in Chapter 6, the participants deployed thirty interessement devices to rally the other court actors to the participants' role definition. The number of interessement strategies is higher than in studies discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, such as the three strategies discussed by Callon (1986) or Mason (2009)'s seven discursive strategies, or those discussed by Braun (2013b)⁸⁴. The number of participants taking part in the study may be a factor that contributed to gathering more interessement strategies. Indeed, this thesis analysed the views of eighteen participants, whereas Callon (1986) relies on the viewpoints of three researchers only, and although Mason (2009) does not provide enough information on his study's method, he acknowledges that his study relies on "a small dataset and did not allow either participant observation or the opportunity for post-interviewing the participants" (Mason, 2009, p. 57).

When comparing the various interessement devices that the eighteen participants used for their role-spaces, the data indicates that there is no clear correlation between the interessement devices used and the shapes of the participants' role-

⁸⁴ These were discussed in more depth in Chapter 3 and Chapter 2, respectively.

space models. Indeed, the 'do's and don'ts' for instance were used both by participants with a four- or five-shape role-space model. The same applies to profiling where P12 (a two-3D-shape role-space model) and P16 (a five-shape role-space model) called upon this strategy. This indicates that the interessement devices do not affect the overall role-space model, but their deployment is specific to one of the role-space axes. For instance, profiling affects primarily the participant alignment, or signalling was used to manage the interaction. Furthermore, the interessement strategies were deployed based on the grouping discussed in 3.3. For instance, 'disappearing' from the screen was used by P11 for all the remote parties (the judge, the prosecution, and the defence barrister). However, some such as 'business-like phrases' or 'giving-turn' could be used for participants on both side of the screen. It is also interesting to note that the interessement strategies used in VCI hearings were mainly to manage the interaction, as discussed in Chapter 6, which correlates with the fact that the participants will primarily define themselves as an OPP on the interaction management axis.

Braun (2013b) states that the data in AVIDUCUS 2 show that the participants in this project's study demonstrate a range of both successful and unsuccessful strategies deployed to interpret in VCI (such as the use of the passive voice). The scope of this thesis does not allow assessing the extent to which the strategies that the participants deployed were successful. However, these strategies show, like in Braun (2013b)'s research report, that the participants adapt to the use of VC equipment, re-use some face-to-face strategies in VCI (such as coding), or deploy new strategies (such as turning her back to form a physical barrier).

As was reported in Chapter 6, the interessement and mobilisation phases occurred simultaneously, which concurs with the fact that "interessement achieves enrolment if it is successful" (Callon, 1986, p. 10). However, it was also reported in Chapter 6 that the mobilisation phase did not occur for all the participants. The wide range of models created support this argument. Indeed, if mobilisation had taken place, the models obtained would have been more uniform, especially for participants with experience in both VCI and B. Instead, the data reveals that the participants had different experiences, and Section 4 below gives

recommendations on how the participants' experiences could be more uniform as a means to reach mobilisation.

The aim of this section was to analyse whether or not there was a link between the participants' role-space that they had created, and their *Translation* process. It was argued that the main factor affecting the participants' perceptions of their role was whether or not they had defined themselves as OPP in the network. Since the NRPSI (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* defines mainly the role of the interpreter through the prism of interaction management, most interpreters would define themselves as OPP on the interaction management axis. However, this code caters to a much lesser extent for the participant alignment, and even less for the presentation of self in court. As a result, the participants had allowed another OPP (be it the judge or the VC equipment) to dictate the participants' presentation of self and/or participant alignment, which led to many role-spaces being created.

Based on the findings of this study, the next section provides recommendations on the use of role-space and *Translation* as theoretical frameworks in IS; and as a means to converge towards enrolment, it puts forward practical recommendations on the use of VC equipment.

4. Recommendations

In her study on the use of VCI in legal proceedings, Braun (2011, p. 266) states that recommendations and guidelines constitute an "important instrument to avoid known problems and to disseminate the findings of the growing body of research to all stakeholders". For this reasons, this section focuses on recommendations based on the data analysis and findings that will be disseminated at a later stage, via academic papers and presentations, to practising interpreters, interpreting scholars and students, and members of the legal profession. The recommendations are split into two categories: the use of role-space and *ANT/Translation* as theoretical frameworks in IS, and practical recommendations so that the interpreter can define herself as the OPP.

4.1. Recommendations on the theoretical frameworks

This piece of research based its analysis on role-space and *Translation*, which were jointly used to examine how court interpreters perceived their role in VCI.

This sub-section assesses the merits of using these two theoretical frameworks, both independently and as a combined research tool for future studies in IS.

4.1.1. The use of role-space in IS

Role-space is a recent theoretical framework which was conceptualised in Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s monograph. Although there is a need to call for more empirical work in order to have a more in-depth assessment of role-space, using this theoretical framework in this thesis has generated several benefits. First, the eighteen participants in this study had created a total of 28 role-space models, which would have, in theory, led to creating 20 different role labels⁸⁵. Using role-space is a means to streamline the creation of role labels, thus avoiding blurred or over-lapping role boundaries, as discussed in Chapter 2. Secondly, it was also argued in Chapter 2 that scholars tend to create role labels in different settings for the same role description (e.g.: the interpreter as a conduit or the interpreter as a machine). By using the same three axes as a frame of reference, role-space enables the researcher to compare interpreters' roles more readily, regardless of whether the research is specific to a setting (such as court interpreting here) or not context-bound (such as public service/conference interpreting). Finally, role-space is conducive to a micro-analysis of the interpreter's role perception, and it can encapsulate small changes in their role-space models. For instance, it was possible to differentiate participants who had the same presentation of self, participant alignment, but a quite high versus high interaction management. These small differences could be lost when the interpreter's role is examined through a continuum like in Bot (2009)'s study or through positioning (Mason, 2009). Although the use of role-space to examine the interpreter's role in IS has been limited, partly due to the fact that it is a rather new theoretical framework, this piece of research gleaned various benefits from this innovative framework, and the results obtained are conducive to encouraging a more widespread use.

⁸⁵ Some participants had the same role-space model: P7 and P17 in VCI A; P3 in VCI B and P9 in VCI A; P5 in VCI A and B, P6 in VCI a and B; P14 in VCI A and P15 in VCI B; P16 in VCI A and B and P18 in VCI A.

Notwithstanding the above benefits, the combination of role-space and analyst triangulation led to some disparities when designing the participants' role-space models. For instance, S1 disagreed with P14's presentation of self. S1 believed that P14's presentation of self was high, as she would discuss football with the defendant. This had led to further discussion between S1 and the doctoral researcher, and as P14 had been narrating a court case which had occurred in a face-to-face setting, and not in VCI B, P14's presentation of self was not changed. Overall, S1, S2, and S3's analysis was in line with the researcher's, as summarised in Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 in Chapter 5. Individual models were, however, questioned as some analysts would have located the interpreters' quite high interaction management, equal participant alignment, or low presentation of self points on a lower or higher point on the axis, compared to the researcher's models. As the role-space 3-D models are a visual representation of the eighteen participants' role-spaces, and for which no scale was added, the place where to locate a quite high or high interaction management seems arbitrary. However, it is posited that including a scale on the model might mislead anyone reading this doctoral thesis into thinking that a quantitative approach was adopted, when this study's focus and methodology was purely qualitative. But more importantly, it calls into question the reason why role-space models are designed, and whether or not they are needed. The models are only provided as a visual representation of a researcher's analysis. Therefore, any studies in IS calling upon role-space should provide an analysis and a table summarising the participants' presentation of self, alignment, and interaction management, alongside the role-space models that they design.

4.1.2. The use of ANT and *Translation* in IS

As Callon (1986, p. 6) argues, *Translation* is to "explain how [actors] define their respective identities, their mutual margins of manoeuvre and the range of choices which are open to them". In this thesis, the concept of the four *Translation* phases has played a primordial role in examining how the interpreter defined her identity in the actor-network, and what strategies she would deploy to rally the other actors on her side. It reveals that the margins for manoeuvre during the problematisation and interessement phases are perceived differently between the interpreters, since not all of them defined themselves as OPP, even on the interaction

management axis. Furthermore, it also reveals that interpreters call upon various strategies to implement their role, which have not been previously discussed in other studies.

However, as discussed in Chapter 4, ANT precludes the researcher from passing any judgement on the actor's validity or the truthfulness of her account. This means that any researcher using ANT as a methodology must readily accept that their research may contain accounts whose veracity cannot/should not be questioned. In this thesis, P1 believed that short trials could be conducted in VCI. No other participants mentioned that VC equipment could be used with a defendant during his trial in England, and this set-up was not mentioned in any literature. This example had no impact on the analysis of P1's role-space as she provided more specific narration of her experience in VCI A and VCI B during pre-trial hearings. However, prior to conducting their studies using ANT, researchers need to critically assess whether the fact that they cannot evaluate the actor's veracity of their account would be detrimental or not to their study findings.

Furthermore, it was discussed in Chapter 4 that according to ANT's ontological and epistemological stance, reality is not the result of the researcher's interpretation of the data gathered, but it emerges from the interplay between the different actors in an actor-network. This stance tends to diminish the influence that the researcher has when conducting/co-producing interviews. During the interviews, participants asked questions about the researcher's experience as an interpreter. In addition, the researcher knew - either in a professional or personal capacity - some of the participants. During the interview, the researcher brought with him his own set of previous networks that he had created with these participants, and which may have influenced his understanding of the actors' accounts. For instance, the researcher and P4 were trained together. As a result, when P4 discussed establishing a rapport with the witness, the researcher did not question at the time her definition of the term 'rapport'. Although ANT does not require data triangulation, it is still recommended that studies whose methodologies rely on ANT consider means to triangulate their data to minimise the effect that the researcher's previous networks and subjectivity could have. As the analyst triangulation confirmed the researcher's results, it is believed that the

researcher's subjectivity and the impact of previous networks were very limited, and it did not affect this study's findings.

4.1.3. Combining ANT, *Translation* and role-space: synergies and issues

Despite the beneficial use of *Translation* described above, criticisms raised in Chapter 3 state that Actor-Network Theory is a descriptive research tool with a limited analytical reach. The data analysed through *Translation* in Chapter 6 validates this ANT criticism to some extent. Indeed, *Translation* revealed the actors taking place in the interpreters' networks, the pre-dominant role played by the use of VC equipment, and the strategies deployed when role perceptions differed. However, it did not cater for a more theoretical approach towards the interpreter's role and role characteristics. Following Hekkanen (2009)'s arguments on the need to adopt another theoretical framework, ANT and *Translation* were combined with role-space. Thanks to this multi-theoretical approach the findings reveal how each participant had perceived her role on the three axes, and alongside which axis the interpreter had defined herself as an OPP and translated (or not) the other court actors.

It was possible to reach such results as ANT and role-space are compatible from a methodological viewpoint. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 3, ANT's ontology is characterised by the actors' unpredictability and interdependency. Firstly, the use of role-space enables the researcher to follow the actor in her descriptions of the events, and she describes the actions that she had undertaken (or not), which can then be translated on the three role-space axes. Secondly, ANT is also based on the absence of prediction, which is encapsulated in the fact that the axes are continua that can represent a very low to a very high level of involvement from the actor. Thirdly, the actor's interdependency can be represented by the actor's alignment with the other actors alongside the participant alignment axis. Fourthly, ANT advocates the use of infralanguage, i.e. a 'banal' vocabulary that is shared by the actors (Latour, 2005). Its aim is to avoid confusing the researcher and the actor's voice, as discussed in Chapter 3. With the exception of feedback (which was then explained), the participants did not express any misunderstanding when asked questions during the interviews, which suggests that role-space uses an infralanguage shared within the interpreting community. Finally, from an

epistemological viewpoint, ANT advocates the actors' multivocality. Role-space enables the creation of various role-spaces amongst the participants, but also different role-spaces can be created to represent an actor's breadth of experience in various settings, and it encapsulates the fact that an actor's perception of her role can change within one interaction (as was the case with P11(1) and P11(2)).

Combining the two theoretical frameworks resulted in another benefit. As discussed in Chapter 3, Buzelin argues that ANT

will generate data that should enable us to get a better idea of who participates in the translation process, how they negotiate their position and of how much and where translators, *in practice, comply with or contest norms*. (Buzelin, 2005, p. 194; my italics)

For the participants, the norms, or Goffman's normative role⁸⁶, were established by the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*. Although most interpreters defined their role in line with the *Code of Professional Conduct's* tenets, most had partially complied and/or contested the norms established in their code in VCI (see Section 3 above). As a result, some interpreters had defined themselves and translated actors as far as interaction management was concerned. This was particularly apparent when comparing Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s role-space model for the court interpreter, that was anchored within the role definition offered in the *Code of Professional Conduct*, and the role-space models that were drawn. Therefore, combining ANT and role-space enables the researcher to reveal the extent to which inscriptions (such as a code of conduct) affect the interpreter's role-space axes.

Notwithstanding the above, one issue when combining these frameworks resides in ANT's rejection of pre-determinacy. Indeed, as argued in Section 1.2 of Chapter 3, ANT rejects providing the actors with any predetermined attribute. However, it could be argued that role-space analyses an interaction through three pre-determined axes (presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management). Although all the participants in this study mentioned elements that could be used to assess their role-space on each of the axes, it could be

⁸⁶ See Chapter 2.

hypothesized that a participant may perceive that presentation of self, for example, does not form part of their role perception. In this case, the origin where the axes meet could be used in the role-space model to represent that the participant did not perceive that presentation of self formed part of their role perception. However, the study has not explored the mitigation of ANT's absence of determinacy and role-space use of three predetermined axes but this could be the focus of further research.

Finally, as discussed in Chapter 2, other sociological paradigms, and more specifically Bourdieusian approaches, have been used to investigate the interpreter's role. This study does not imply that only role-space and *Translation* are relevant when conducting similar studies. However, they may not provide the same in-depth perspective. For instance, the linearity of Bot (2009)'s continuum would have not established the 3-dimensional role perspectives offered in role-space, and Bourdieu's work on *habitus*, *capita*, and *field* may not have enabled the researcher to consider the VC equipment as a fully-fledged actor with Agency, but it could have relegated VC equipment as an element inscribed within Structure.

To conclude, role-space and *Translation*, both from an individual perspective and as a combined framework, have been crucial in revealing how the interpreter perceives her role in VCI. However, it resulted in a very large corpus of interviews to analyse. Therefore, it is recommended that in studies combining role-space and *Translation*, qualitative data analysis software such as NVivo be used to manage the research data.

4.2. Practical recommendations

Based on this piece of research findings, this section puts forward recommendations on presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management to enable the interpreter to create a role-space model similar to that of Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s. It also puts forward recommendations to be implemented in the updated NRPSI (2016)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* and DPSI training programmes in order to reach mobilisation.

4.2.1. Re-aligning the court interpreter's role-space model

Concerns were raised by the participants when their role-space model was not in line with that of Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s model describing the court interpreter's role-space. This section therefore puts forward recommendations for a re-alignment of their role-space axes.

4.2.1.1. Presentation of self

Some participants perceived that their presentation of self had been very low. In order to remedy this issue, it is recommended that at the start of the hearing:

- i. The interpreter should introduce herself to all the parties in both languages.
- ii. The interpreter should remind all the parties that she abides by their *Code of Professional Conduct*, and she should especially remind the participants of its impartiality and confidentiality tenets.
- iii. The interpreter should be sworn/affirmed in front of all the parties, including the remote actors.
- iv. The oath/affirmation should be taken in English, and interpreted into the other language.

It is worth noting that some participants had already introduced themselves to the defendant during the conference meeting, and they felt that even if they had not taken the oath, the remote party knew that they were the interpreter. Nevertheless, this procedure signals the start of the hearing in face-to-face. Therefore, it should also signal to the defendant that his hearing is starting in VCI A. Some participants also felt that they could not be seen as impartial as they appeared with the defendant on the screen in VCI B. Although this layout concurs with similar case scenarios when the interpreter is sitting next to the defendant in the dock, taking the oath would remind parties in court that the interpreter will “well and faithfully interpret⁸⁷”. Despite the possibility that this may not resolve the court participants' perceptions of the interpreter's role, it may still alleviate the interpreter's concerns.

Finally, some participants were apprehensive about the time spent on their own with the defendant in VCI B. When the interpreter works from prison, it is essential that the defendant be brought into the room at the start of the hearing, once the

⁸⁷ The oath is accessible here: [accessed on 30 June, 2015]
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/264330/MSLchapter27annexB.pdf

VC equipment is live, and the court is ready to hear the case, as would be the case in face-to-face settings.

Based on the data analysis, it is put forward that the above recommendations will enable the interpreter to maintain a low presentation of self, similarly to Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s role-space model for court interpreters.

4.2.1.2. Participant alignment

The participants' participant alignment was unequal as they had encountered poor sound and/or video quality, difficulties in reading body language, or problems in establishing a rapport with the remote party. It is therefore suggested that:

- v. The court should ensure that the court layout is not conducive to sound echoes. If it is, an alternative courtroom should be used. If this is not possible, the interpreter should be provided with a tour-guide system to limit the echoes effect.
- vi. The equipment used should provide sufficient audio and video quality⁸⁸, and should comply with the International Telecommunication Union (2009)'s H 323 recommendations.
- vii. The video quality should be sufficient for the interpreter to read the body language and facial expressions of the remote actors, and vice-versa.
- viii. The video quality should be sufficient for the interpreter to read feedback cues and back-channel from the remote actors, and vice-versa.
- ix. The screen should be large enough for Recommendations vii and viii above to be implemented, and it should be positioned in a place where the interpreter can see it effortlessly.
- x. The interpreter should always be visible on screen in the remote location to preserve some minimal rapport.

⁸⁸ Some studies, such as Bros-Brann (2004), Esteban Causo (2011), P. Mouzourakis (2006), and Technical Committee (2000), focused on the technical specifications needed in remote interpreting, and Braun (2015, p. 356) states that "many European countries have implemented facilities in courtrooms based on the [International Telecommunication Union (ITU)]'s more recent H.323 standard for videoconferences using the internet" in order to improve the video and audio quality. Although it has not been possible to verify the equipment that had been used by the participants in this study, several participants complained of poor sound and/or video quality. Therefore, it is recommended that VC equipment used in courts complies with H. 323 standards, if it does not already.

- xi. The hearing should only start once the audio and video link is soundly established between both sites.
- xii. The interpreter should not be left on her own with the defendant/witness, whilst waiting for the link to be established in VCI B.
- xiii. The interpreter should not be located next to one party in court, but should be interpreting from a more neutral stand such as the witness box.
- xiv. The hearing should be preceded by a conference meeting in VCI A, during which the interpreter could establish a rapport with the defendant/witness by introducing herself (see Recommendation ii above) and verifying that they can understand each other.
- xv. The interpreter should also remind all the parties that summaries are not appropriate, and that all the interventions will be interpreted in full.

It is worth noting that some participants reported in VCI B that they were not able to see the whole courtroom as the camera was focusing solely on the party speaking at the time, whilst others stated that they could not read the speaker's body language since the camera was offering a court overview only. As it seems that interpreters have diverging preferences with regard to what they can see on screen, it is rather difficult to make recommendations. However, their preferences could be stated at the beginning of the hearing, and reasonable adjustment may be taken into account. It would also be worth highlighting the benefits of the picture-in-picture facility to the interpreter.

Based on the data analysis, it is put forward that the above recommendations will enable the interpreter to maintain an equal participant alignment, in accordance to Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s role-space model for court interpreters.

4.2.1.3. Interaction management

Some participants reported that their interaction management had been very low/ low as the defendant was very divorced from the process, and there was no need to intervene (in VCI A), or the interpreter felt unable to intervene (in VCI B). It is therefore suggested that:

- xvi. The parties should establish a working relation during the conference meeting (as recommended in xiii above). This is essential so that the defendant/witness is fully participating in the court hearing.

- xvii. The defendant/witness should be reminded during the hearing that they can intervene to seek clarifications and/or repetitions.
- xviii. The interpreter should establish a visual signal to interrupt the party speaking.
- xix. If the visual signal is not acknowledged, the interpreter should verbally interrupt the party speaking.
- xx. This signal should be used to manage any aspect of the interaction such as turn-taking, over-lapping speeches, clarifications and repetitions.
- xxi. All the parties should agree on the use of such a signal at the start of the hearing.

The above recommendations should encourage, or at least clearly indicate to the defendant/witness that they are key actors in the hearing, and that they can intervene, as can the interpreter. However, some participants' interaction management had been low, not because they had not dared to interrupt the participants, but they believed that the need to do so had never arisen since the VC hearing had been very well coordinated. It is therefore worth noting that the use of VC equipment can also have positive benefits.

Based on the data analysis, it is put forward that the above recommendations will enable the interpreter to manage the court interaction, in accordance to the *Code of Professional Conduct* and Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s role-space model for court interpreters.

Overall, the recommendations made above are based on the issues identified by the participants in this study. Their aim is to ensure that the interpreter should have strategies to re-align their role-space with the *Code of Professional Conduct* and Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s role-space for court interpreters. It is worth noting that some recommendations may help the interpreter re-align more than one axis. For instance, Recommendation xv could also help the interpreter re-align her presentation of self as an impartial actor by "interpret[ing] truly and faithfully what is uttered" (National Register of Public Service Interpreters, 2011, 3.12) , and not providing a summary.

4.2.1.4. Assessing the recommendations

As discussed above, these recommendations are based on this thesis' data analysis. It is striking that most of these recommendations are similar, to some

extent, to those put forward by Braun (2011) or Fowler (2012) in terms of the audio and video quality, rapport building, reading body language, and developing a visual signalling system. However, the findings in this thesis would tend to disagree with some of their recommendations, and the salient features are discussed below.

First, Fowler (2012) recommends that the interpreter be introduced by the court usher, and that according to her Recommendation (viii), the magistrate “should watch the interpreter” to regulate the speed at which the court actors speak (Fowler, 2012, p. 399). Although these recommendations bring several benefits such as establishing a clear procedure, and relieving the interpreter from managing part of the interaction, it could be questioned whether the judge will have the time and/or the skills to identify when the speaker’s pace is inappropriate. Furthermore, most participants in this study had been introduced by the court. However, some felt that they were unable to intervene to rebalance their presentation of self, when they had not been introduced. Therefore, to build onto Fowler’s recommendation, the interpreter should interrupt the proceedings if she is not introduced, which would mean that the interpreter would need to define herself as OPP on the presentation of self axis, as recommended in Section 4.2.2 below.

In terms of the court layout, Braun (2011) recommends that in VCI A, the interpreter be seated near the primary speaker in court. Fowler (2012) draws similar recommendations, but she acknowledges that the interpreter may be sitting next to the prosecution. Although close proximity with the speaker may enable the interpreter to manage more easily the interaction, if needs be, such recommendations could also create issues with the defendant’s perceived impartiality of the interpreter and her participant alignment⁸⁹.

Fowler (2012) also recommends that the interpreter be always located in court, and therefore she encourages non-use of the VCI B setting. The evidence in this doctoral research shows that there are various benefits in both VCI A and B modes, and banishing the use of VCI B may also impact on the interpreter’s cost

⁸⁹ As discussed by P1 in Chapter 5.

and availabilities, two of the reasons why VC equipment was introduced in the first instance.

With regard to the equipment, Braun (2011, p. 273) also recommends that the interpreter be able to see her own image on screen which can “contribute to building confidence and trust”, and “enable[s] the interpreter to create an illusion of eye contact”. Although this recommendation would bring the above benefits, several participants in this study believed that it had been more of a distraction, and they would rather be able to see either the person speaking, or an overview of the court. The interpreter’s preference differs with regard to what is available on their screen. For such a reason, and as discussed above, the interpreter should state her preference, and when possible, reasonable adjustments should be implemented.

Finally, Braun (2011) recommends that the equipment, when possible, be tested in the presence of the interpreter. This recommendation would reduce potential equipment failure, and also relieve any stress felt by some interpreters when the VC system does not work. This recommendation does not emerge from this thesis’ data analysis, and although it should be fully endorsed, there may be hurdles, and not the least from a logistical viewpoint, regarding its feasibility.

Overall, then, this section has put forward a set of practical recommendations so that the court interpreter can have a role-space model similar to Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)’s court interpreter role-space model . However, it is worth noting that court participants’ preferences and local constraints may affect the implementation of such recommendations. Furthermore, these recommendations would have a limited success if the interpreter were not to define herself as an OPP. To remedy, or at least alleviate these issues, the next section puts forward recommendations so that the interpreter could define herself as an OPP, and translate the other court actors with the aim of achieving mobilisation.

4.2.2. Defining the interpreter as the Obligatory Passage Point

As the participants were all registered on the National Register of Public Service Interpreters and DPSI qualified, this section puts forward recommendations to be implemented in the updated NRPSI (2016)’s *Code of Professional Conduct* and

during DPSI training so that the interpreter possesses tools to define herself as an OPP on all the role-space axes.

4.2.2.1. *Code of Professional Conduct*

As discussed in Chapter 1, the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct* does not cater for the use of VC equipment in court settings. Interestingly, the NRPSI's *Code of Professional Conduct* updated in 2016 still does not cater for the use of technologies. Therefore, it is recommended that the code be amended to take into account the use of VCI in court settings.

The participants experienced difficulties when the court proceedings in VCI did not correspond to their experience in face-to-face court settings. It was particularly noticeable in terms of the absence of the swearing-in/affirmation process, the use of simultaneous and/or consecutive modes, and where the interpreter should sit. For these reasons, a protocol on VCI should be drafted, and its use should be acknowledged and regulated in the NRPSI (2016)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*.

It was also argued above that the code specifically refers to the interaction management feature. As a result, most interpreters had defined themselves as OPP if issues related to interaction had occurred. The code needs to reflect that the interpreter is a fully-fledged actor in court, and that her role is multi-faceted. Therefore, the code needs to define the interpreter's role based on the three role-space axes, and does not limit the interpreter to managing the interaction. Including presentation of self (such as: introducing herself and being sworn-in) and participant alignment (such as body language, feedback, and back-channeling) could motivate the interpreter to define herself as an OPP for these two axes. It is posited that she will be therefore better equipped to intervene in order to rebalance her presentation of self and participant alignment, when needed.

All in all, it is recommended that a VCI protocol be adopted, and its observance be granted within the *Code of Professional Conduct*. Further, not only does this code need to define the role through interaction management, but it should also

emphasise presentation of self and participant alignment as factors contributing to the interpreter's role.

4.2.2.2. Training

The data gathered does not allow for an analysis of the DPSI course content that the participants had studied, and whether they had been trained to use a VC system in a legal course setting or not. However, as mentioned by some participants and as confirmed in the IoL Educational Trust (2015)'s *Handbook for Candidates* sitting the DPSI examination, VCI training does not form an integral part of the DPSI curriculum. Therefore, given the fact that VCI is used in court, it is recommended that the Institute of Linguist Educational Trust incorporate VCI in its curriculum.

In order to ensure that prospective court interpreters possess more than a conceptual understanding of VCI, DPSI centres should give students the opportunity to observe proceedings taking place in both VCI A and B modes. It is also important that students are given the opportunity to practise role-plays in these two modes. Although centres may not be equipped with VC technologies meeting the International Telecommunication Union (2009)'s H323 Recommendation, students could nonetheless practise role-plays using cruder technologies such as Skype. Furthermore, the aim of this thesis was not to develop or assess a curriculum for trainee PSIs. However, centres could develop resources based on the Braun *et al.* (2011) or Avidicus 3 training outline⁹⁰, for instance.

The participants also reported that court actors sometimes lack etiquette in terms of VC equipment and its use, making it more difficult for the interpreter to hear the proceedings. For instance, court staff or members of the public would leave the courtroom mid-hearing, court members would rustle papers near their microphone, or they would not speak in their microphone. Therefore, it is essential that legal practitioners also receive training in using VC equipment. Such training would

⁹⁰ The PowerPoint presentation was available, on 18/10/2016, at this address:
http://www.videoconference-interpreting.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/AVIDICUS3_Training_Outline.pdf

need to make specific reference to conducting a bilingual VC hearing in the presence of an interpreter.

As mentioned by some of the participants, training should not take place independently from the other actors, but rather all the court actors should also jointly train in using VC equipment. Such a recommendation has been put forward by other scholars such as Braun (2011) and Fowler (2012). Further to improving participants' understanding of the other actors' perspectives in VCI, it could also bring the interpreter a step closer to mobilising all the actors as far as the interpreter role-space is concerned, as in Callon (1986)'s study.

In order to achieve mobilisation, the researchers in Callon (1986)'s study had to displace and re-assemble all the actors through their respective representatives⁹¹. In other words, the three researchers used the knowledge that they had gathered during their research, and they disseminated it to the representatives first. Then, the representatives spread the information to their respective collective. In a VCI context, it is therefore essential that before training on the interpreter's role in VCI occurs, all the representatives must be nominated, and they must gather to share knowledge and experience in a view to establishing local joint training programmes. Furthermore, each collective must identify an appropriate representative⁹², who should then disseminate the information to their collective, be it the judges, the lawyers, the interpreters, the prison officers, and companies developing the VC equipment.

It is worth noting that disseminating training may encounter some hurdles. In Callon (1986)'s study, the scallops were fished in a very small geographical area in France, and gaining access to the fishermen had not been highlighted as an issue. If the NRPSI were to disseminate training on the court interpreter's role-space in VCI to its members, they would need to train the DPSI trainers first, so that they can then train prospective DPSI candidates. It is also worth noting that the NRPSI has more than 2,000 registrants who are already practising court

⁹¹ As discussed in Chapter 3, the fishermen were represented by their union, the scallops by the three researchers, and the scientific collective by some scientists who were specifically interested in the field of scallop anchorage.

⁹² As far as the interpreters are concerned, the NRPSI are responsible for the vetting of their members. Therefore, this organisation should be the interpreters' representative.

interpreters, and they are dispersed over a much larger geographical zone. A means to ensure that there are trained interpreters attending court hearings conducted in VCI mode could be to offer CPD sessions on this interpreting mode, as it has previously done with interpreting in mental health or prison settings. They could then gain an accreditation, which would be added to their NRPSI online profile.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to correlate the study's results from Chapters 5 and 6 with the findings from the literature review (Chapters 1, 2, and 3) and the methodology (Chapter 4). This chapter has revealed that as the actors are multivocal, and that they create different role-space models. In these models, the interpreters' previous actor-networks in terms of qualification, training, experience, culture, and language combination have a limited effect on their role perception when they interpret in VCI mode. Furthermore, the interpreters define their role in accordance with their *Code of Professional Conduct*. Nevertheless, they create an array of role perceptions when VC equipment is used, and the use of such equipment affects their role-space axes differently.

The interpreters' role perceptions are in fact shaped by the interpreters' positions within the actor-networks, whether or not they define themselves as OPP at the main or sub-network level, and alongside which role-space axis. Based on these findings, this chapter has presented recommendations on the use of *ANT/Translation* and/or role-space as potential theoretical frameworks and methodology in IS research, and more practical recommendations on the use of VC equipment in court, the need to update the NRPSI (2016)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*, and the necessity to include use of the VCI mode in the public service interpreter's training.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this thesis will refer back to the study aims and show how they were achieved in light of each chapter's findings. It will then review the limitations of the study and suggest avenues for further research. It will conclude by highlighting the contributions that this thesis has made to the field of IS.

Summary of the research questions and findings

This study first aimed to examine how the court interpreter perceives her role in VCI, and whether or not the use of technologies affects her role perception. It then aimed to investigate how the court interpreter negotiates her role during a VCI court hearing, and what strategies she deploys to ensure that the other court actors rally behind her own role perception.

In order to answer these research questions, this thesis was divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 critically reviewed the body of literature available on the use of technologies and systems in mono- and multi-lingual legal settings, with a particular emphasis put on the use of VCI in courts and the research outcomes from the Avidicus projects. It showed that various research themes have been explored. However, the court interpreter's perception of her role in VCI was identified as an under-researched area.

Research examining the court interpreter's role and her perception was more abundant in a face-to-face setting. Many role labels have been used to describe the interpreter's role, which could be classified alongside a continuum in which the interpreter as a machine and the interpreter as a fully-fledged participant in the court IME form both extremities, as discussed in Chapter 2. Studies in this area tend to be rather descriptive, and they are anchored in the interpreter's normative role, as indicated in codes of conduct, or on researchers' personal experience or belief. However, some research studies have also called upon sociology, in order to argue that the court interpreter's role is multi-faceted, and that the interpreter's perception of her role varies. To limit the number of role labels created in this thesis, and to examine her role through various perspectives, it was argued that role-space and its presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management axes, was the most appropriate theoretical framework to use.

Given the preponderant role that technologies occupy in this thesis, Chapter 3 argued that Actor-Network Theory was a fit-for-purpose theoretical framework to analyse the interaction between the interpreter and VCI systems. It also analysed in more depth the sociological concept of *Translation* which enables the researcher to explore negotiations that take place between the *primum movens* and the other actors in a network. In light of the scope of this thesis, it was argued that *Translation* was an appropriate theoretical framework to analyse how the court interpreter negotiates her role with the other court actors in VCI.

Chapter 4 assessed ANT's ontological and epistemological stances, and it reviewed how to conduct semi-structured interviews, both sections informing this study's research design. It then presented the profiles of the eighteen court interpreters that took part in this study, and explained how role-space and *Translation* were operationalised.

The data gathered during the interviews was first examined through the lens of role-space in Chapter 5. The eighteen interpreters' perceptions of their role when interpreting in VCI A and/or VCI B were conceptualised through role-space models. It emerged that the participants' perceptions of their role varied. Their presentation of self was either low or very low, and their interaction management was perceived as being either a fixed entity or ranging from very low to high. Finally, they aligned either equally between the participants on both sides of the screen, or more towards the party with whom they were physically present. It also emerged that some participants perceived their role differently between the participants in court and those attending the hearing virtually, hence creating two two-or three-dimensional role-space models.

The data was then analysed through the prism of ANT and *Translation*. Chapter 6 identified the various actors that took part in the court interpreters' networks, with magistrates/judges, solicitors/barristers, and defendants/witnesses being recurring actors in all the interviews. The interpreters perceived their role mainly as one of a language transfer. As such, they called upon various intersement devices that focused mainly on enabling the interpreter to transfer the linguistic content of the intervention, which reflects their perception of her role as that of a language transfer. Once intersement occurred, enrolment followed without any further

negotiation. Finally, mobilisation was very split, with some interpreters arguing that this was not achievable.

The last chapter correlated the participants' role-space models and the results gathered from their *Translation* process. In light of the findings from the literature review from Chapters 1, 2 and 3, factors such as qualification, training, experience, and culture may shape, to some varying extent, the interpreter's perception of her role. However, despite describing their role within the remits of the NRPSI (2011)'s *Code of Professional Conduct*, their role-space models differed greatly. Chapter 7 revealed that their role-space was in fact shaped by their position in the network, and whether or not they defined themselves as an Obligatory Passage Point (OPP) at the main and/or subnetwork levels along the presentation of self, participant alignment, and/or interaction management axes. This chapter concluded by putting forward theoretical recommendations on the use of ANT, *Translation*, and role-space in IS. It also provided practical recommendations for interpreters to re-align their role-space model in VCI, and for her to define herself as an OPP.

To briefly summarise and answer the research questions, the court interpreter's perception of her role varies greatly, and most participants perceive that the use of VC equipment limits some aspects of their role perception. Furthermore, the court interpreter tends to negotiate mainly her interaction management, and as a result, most interestment devices that she deploys are to enable her to manage the VCI interaction.

Limitations and avenues for further research

As discussed in Chapter 4, participants were recruited in line with Seidman (2006)'s principles of sufficiency and saturation of information. The participants in this study were all NRPSI interpreters working in courts. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, it has been reported that unqualified or non-qualified interpreters also interpret during court hearings. Unfortunately, despite several attempts made to contact unqualified interpreters through personal contacts and Capita, it was not possible to interview any. As a result, it is possible that a small proportion of the interpreter population may have not taken part in this study. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 4, the feasibility to explore all the intermediaries in a network

is deemed impossible. For this reason, the full extent to which the interpreter's previous experience in terms of qualification, training, personal and professional experience may affect her role may be limited. However, as was also discussed in Chapter 3, networks' limitations pave the way for further research.

Therefore, this thesis offers several avenues for further research. This study's findings could be complemented by recruiting underqualified or non-qualified court interpreters in England, who are not part of the NRPSI. Interviews in line with the research design discussed in Chapter 4 could be conducted, and the transcripts could be analysed through the prism of role-space and ANT/*Translation*.

Furthermore, the scope of this study was limited to the interpreter's perception. Building on Hale (2008) and Mason (2009), studies incorporating other actors' viewpoints (such as those of judges, solicitors, and defendants) could help assess the impact that aligning more towards a party, the absence of presentation of self, or chunking the interaction has on the other participants' perception of the interpreter's role in a court IME conducted via VC equipment. It would also shed light on the intersement devices used by the other court actors in order to translate the court interpreter. Moreover, it would be interesting to analyse how adaptive behaviours and previous networks based on earlier encounters with the other court actors shape her role perception in a given IME. Finally, looking at broader avenues for research, the use of ANT is very limited in IS despite its benefits highlighted in Chapter 3. This study therefore calls for a more critical use of ANT when paradigms on technologies in IS are examined. Similarly, despite being in its infancy, the benefits of role-space are manifold. This calls for further empirical studies to use this theoretical framework, in order to critically assess its usage on a larger scale.

Contribution to the discipline

This study offers several original contributions to the field of IS. Firstly, the study's focus is on the court interpreter's perception of her role when technologies are used, an area in which research was identified as scarce. Furthermore, building on Fowler (2012)'s work, the interpreter's viewpoint is not defendant-focused only, but it also takes into consideration the interpreter's perception when interpreting for witnesses in VCI A and/or VCI B.

Secondly, this theme uses an under-explored sociological framework in IS, namely ANT and more specifically *Translation*, to investigate how actors negotiate their roles in court settings. This new approach not only highlights the negotiations in a network, but it also reveals the strategies used by the interpreters to rally the other court actors on their side. It also reveals that she deploys many strategies, which adds to the list of those that were identified in the body of literature. By using such a framework, this thesis differs from other studies in IS using Bourdieusian or Goffmanian frameworks. It also reveals the pivotal role that technologies play in the negotiations, and it paves the way for further studies in IS using *ANT/Translation*.

Thirdly, this work offers an in-depth study using role-space in VCI A and VCI B court settings that was based on eighteen interviews. As such, it builds on Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s work by exploring hearings that were not conducted in face-to-face, and it demonstrates that interpreters may, in fact, build different role-space models between the actors in court and those on the other side of the screen.

Fourthly, although the aim of this study is not to make generalisations, several practical and theoretical recommendations are drawn.

Finally, combining role-space and *Translation* confirms parts of the findings in the literature review on the interpreter's role perception in a face-to-face criminal court setting, but it also highlights that factors identified in the literature review may only play a limited role in shaping her perceptions, and her definition as an OPP may be the major contributor in conceiving her role perception.

Appendix A: Individual Analysis of the Participants' Perceptions of their Role

This section analyses each participant's presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management axes when they interpreted in VCI A and/or VCI B (depending on their experience). The role-space models are designed in accordance with Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s role-space template (see Figure 3 in Chapter 2).

1. The participants' perceptions of their role in VCI A

P1

According to P1, she was not able to introduce herself to the defendant, and it was not obvious that there was an interpreter in court. As she argues, she could have been 'the cleaner (...) the woman with the microphone' (L455-6). She also states that she was not properly introduced to the court either. This was due to the fact that the theatrics surrounding court interpreting was missing in VCI A. She described the process when a hearing takes place in face-to-face mode, where the interpreter is called from the public gallery, walks to the front of the bench, and she is then sworn-in. All these elements were missing in VCI A. Furthermore, she believed that she was not seen as being impartial by the defendant as she was sitting next to the prosecution barrister, which made her uncomfortable with the set-up. Overall, her presentation of self as the court interpreter is very low due to the use of VC equipment.

P1 experienced some difficulties with the quality of the picture, and she argues that "you cannot replace a person with a picture" (L503-4). She also raises the quality of sound as a potential issue, but she admits that during face-to-face hearing, this can also be problematic as the sound can be like in a "mausoleum" (L497). In terms of body language, tone, and register, P1 feels that she could not read the facial expression on the defendant's face, or that she would like to see what he is doing with his hands. She also mentions there could be issues with intonation, especially when the sound is poor, and she feels that VCI "has minimised communication" (L490-1). Interestingly, her experience in VCI made her realise the extent to which she relies on body language in order to obtain feedback from the defendant. She argues that in VCI A she "could not do any of that" (L87).

This is particularly problematic as she is using feedback to adapt terminology by “explain[ing] the term as opposed to using the term” (L529-30), for instance. She also states that the defendants are missing out on the body language of the participants present in court such as “the judge shaking his head” (L220), which could highlight further difficulties in back-channelling. She raises concerns that the use of VCI makes them “static” (L504), they were not seeing the court process taking place, and she feels that they were not involved in their court hearing because the defendant was so “removed” (L285), which, for her, is “a human right issue” (L505). However, she does not report any issue regarding body language, feedback or back channelling with participants in courts. In fact, she used her own body language to create a physical barrier between herself and the prosecution barrister. Finally, she indicates that it was more difficult to intervene because of the physical distance. She states that there was no interaction, and that the defendant was not involved. Furthermore, the defendant could not intervene as the court would hear them. Even her range of action was limited if she wanted to intervene. In fact, “[interactions] are not happening anymore because what are you going to do? Are you going to talk to the screen? Are you going to take the microphone off the person? It has taken a whole level of communication” (L373-40). VCI A lowers her alignment with the defendant. However, her alignment with the courts does not seem to be impeded.

Finally, P1 reports that the need to ask for clarifications or repetitions had not arisen because the defendant had been so distanced from his hearing. VCI also impacted on any dyadic exchange possibilities with the defendant. She argues that defendants could not have intervened during the hearing as he ‘would [have] interfered with the court proceedings and he would [have been] told off.’ She adds that in any case, the defendant would not have known how to interact via videolink. She indicates that there was no need to manage the interaction. Overall, P1’s interaction management is very low.

Her presentation of self was very low, and so was her interaction management, and she aligned more towards the court. Her role-space model can be designed as follows:

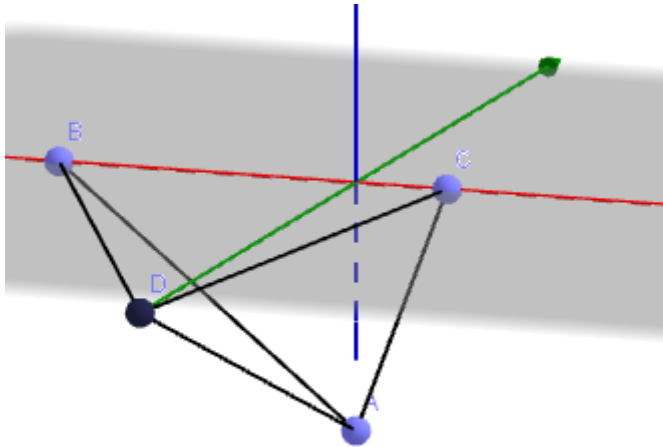


Figure 22: P1's role-space model in VCI A

P3

P3 was sworn-in in front of the court, and she was able to introduce herself. She adds that this occurred whilst the defendant was not present through the video-link. However, she introduced herself to the defendant when he appeared on the screen. She also believes that it was obvious to all the parties that she was the court interpreter. Overall, her presentation of self is low.

P3 reports on various technical issues when she was interpreting in VCI A. It was difficult to hear, as the microphones used were not always placed in front of the person speaking, which may justify the reason why she feels that sometimes the sound was muffled. She indicates that she could not always see well, as the picture was blurred; also, the camera could only capture the defendant's head and shoulders. Therefore, she was not able to see other parts of their bodies such as their hands and their feet, or to read the defendant's facial expressions. She also feels that she was not able to mirror their body language which "a good interpreter will always [do] up to a certain point" (L131-2). She also states that she was very limited in terms of feedback as she could not establish eye-contact or read the defendant's body language to see whether he understood or not. Back-channelling was also limited as she could not "wave" or "make any signal" (L88-9) to the defendant, or she was not able to "elbow [the defendant] in the stomach" (L85) when she thought that he had fallen asleep. Interestingly, she later adds that it was not her role to intervene in such a situation. Nevertheless, she still passed a note to the solicitor to inform them that the defendant seemed asleep on the screen. The absence of interaction with the defendant may rest on her belief that

the process was “very clinical because you are so divorced” (L274), whereas she usually does not hesitate to intervene to the defendant in a face-to-face situation. As an aside, she believes that she obtains better feedback and that she performs better in VCI B because she’s next to the defendant and he can see her as his mouthpiece. But she feels that when someone appears on the screen, there is a barrier. Overall, it seems that her alignment with the defendant is lower than that with the participants in court.

P3 believes that the interaction management was very limited as the defendant was not interacting, and she feels that she herself or even the defence team ‘could not contact him on the screen’ (P3:L88). However, she managed to pass a piece of paper to the solicitor so that he was aware that the defendant had seemed to be asleep, which could amount to an attempt to manage the interaction management covertly. She also states that once the equipment had started working, there had not been any issues, and she had not had to seek clarification or repetitions. All in all, and although she had managed a small part of the interaction in a rather covertly manner, her interaction management was low.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, as was her interaction management, and she aligned more towards the court. Her role-space model can be designed as follows:

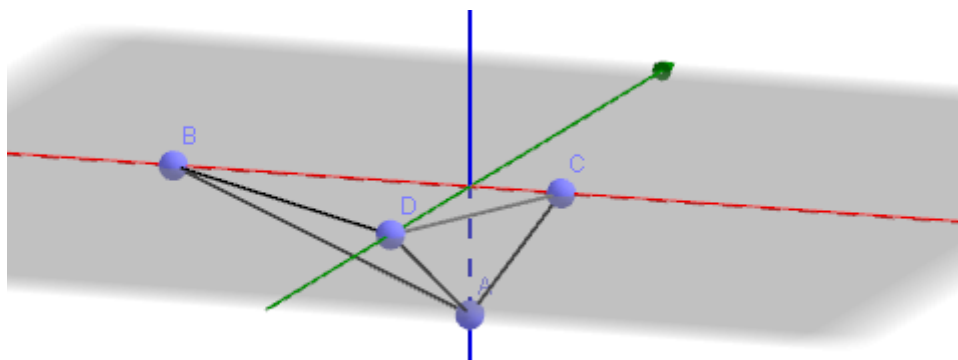


Figure 23: P3's role-space model in VCI A

P5

P5 reports that she was able to introduce herself and be sworn-in at the beginning of the hearing, whilst both sides were present. She believes that it was apparent that she was impartial, as she had mentioned it in her introduction, and so did the judge. She feels that there was an atmosphere of trust with the court. Although it

had been more difficult to establish a relationship of trust with the defendant at first, she asserts that trust was not an issue during the hearing. It therefore appears that her presentation of self was low.

P5 states that she encountered some difficulties with the sound as it could be “echoing, and (...) muffled” as they encountered technical problems (L88). As a result, she feels that it was taking more effort to interpret. Although she acknowledges the importance of body language, she feels that she could not read the defendant’s body language, and the defendant was more distant. However, she believes that it did not impact on her alignment with the defendant, and she asserts that at the end of the hearing, “everybody was happy” (L136). She also declares that she would take a rather pro-active approach when interpreting a cultural difference, and she intervened and informed all the parties. She says that “when there was something like that, [she] told the court: ‘I am sorry, I have to explain something to the defendant’” (L 124-5). Therefore, it seems that she aligned equally with the court and the defendant.

Finally, P5 reports that she managed the interaction as she would usually do in face-to-face. During dyadic exchanges with one party, she informed the other party of the question asked or comment made, and as mentioned previously, she intervened to inform parties of any cultural differences. She also mentions that usually people in court would speak in turn. However, sometimes the defendant would intervene whilst one party was speaking in court. When such a situation occurred, she stopped the party speaking in court to interpret the defendant’s question. She also adds that if the barrister did try to interrupt her, then she would ask him to wait so that she finished interpreting. In such circumstances, she states that she would seek permission from the judge before taking any actions. It therefore transpires that her interaction management was high.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and she aligned equally with the defendant and the court participants. Furthermore, her interaction management was high. Her role-space model could be designed as follows:

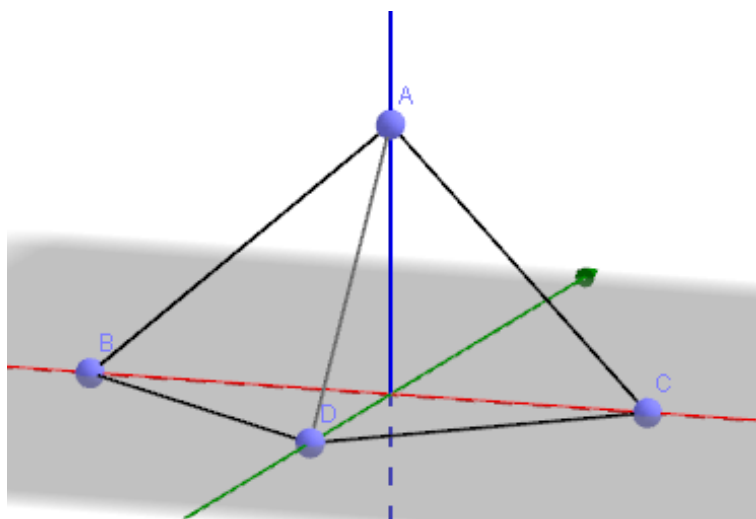


Figure 24: P5's role-space model in VCI A

P6

P6 states that when interpreting for a defendant in VCI A, she “was probably more noticeable because [she] was loud [and] [she] had to talk” in front of the whole courtroom (L369). However, this situation is not uncommon in court as an interpreter would be in the same position when interpreting for a witness giving evidence in a face-to-face hearing. She indicates that she was able to be sworn-in. The defendant was able to see her being sworn-in, although it felt “a bit strange” (L128). Furthermore, she was asked by the clerk to introduce herself to the defendant in order to verify that they could understand each other (L187). She also mentions that she was known in court by the court staff, even some judges, as she had been working there for many years. She feels that she had already established with them “a working relation” (L282). Furthermore, she states that in VCI A the interpreter could be seen as impartial since she did not spend “unnecessary times” with the defendant, when he would usually ask questions such as “What’s going to happen?” or “Is it better for me to plead guilty or not guilty?” (L177-8). It seems that P6’s presentation of self does not seem to be affected by the use of VCI A. It remains low as she was able to limit her presentation of self to introducing herself and being sworn-in. And although she was more visible in court, she perceives that VCI A made it easier for her to remain and be seen as being impartial since there was no prior contact with the defendant.

Similarly to P5, P6 states that once, the sound was echoing. When this happened, she ensured that she informed all the parties of the technological issue. Like the previous participant, she mentions that she received less information in terms of body language. Interestingly, she puts forward the idea that this is due to the fact that the defendant was sitting the whole time. She also reports that in general, speakers of the other language tend to be less expressive through their body language, and she believes that it was more of a cultural difference. However, she suspects that VCI still impacted on the defendants' behaviour. Indeed, they seemed more focused on what was being said, and this could be the reason why they were quieter, compared to face-to-face mode where she had seen defendants crying or trying to hit the security guard in the dock. She also feels that defendants could be calmer because they were not present in court. Unlike previous participants (e.g. P1), she argues that she could still read facial expressions on the defendant's face to check whether they had understood or not. She also asked them to confirm whether they had understood or not. Furthermore, she argues that she could see the defendant's face well enough to identify whether the defendant was from a certain ethnic minority, in which case she would need to adapt her speed of delivery since they were not native speakers of her mother tongue. So, it seems that overall, and despite the absence of body language, her feedback mechanism was not impeded by the use of VCI. P6 also intervened when she felt that she had to explain aspects of her role such as the fact that she could not interpret in simultaneous mode when VC equipment was used. She, in fact, asserts that it was easier to intervene in VCI A because she was interpreting from the front row, compared to being in the dock in face-to-face hearing, where it may be more difficult to attract the court personnel's attention. She also feels that VCI A prevented the interpreter and the defendant from aligning too much. She states that in face-to-face, "people tend to become more sort of close to each other, even sometimes without realising it" (P6: L173-4). She states that in face-to-face, they would have some mundane exchanges such as "How are you?" (L175). However, she never experienced this in VCI A because the defendant was not physically next to the interpreter. She also noticed that during face-to-face hearings, defendants can be abusive or make rude comments "even to the judge and the prosecutor" (L230), which would never happen in VCI. She explains that this could also be due to the fact that the hearings were rather

short in nature, and as a consequence, the defendant did not “have time to be wound up” (L232). It therefore transpires that VCI A may impact on reading body language, but it does not seem that it would affect how P6 would align with the court and the defendant, and in fact VCI A would facilitate intervening to court parties and reduced any over-alignment with the defendant. Furthermore, although she had a working relationship with the court staff, as explained in the paragraph above, this did not seem to impact on her alignment with the court. Overall, P6 aligned equally between the defendant and the court participants.

She also narrates a case when she was interpreting for a witness⁹³, who was expected to give evidence from abroad. In the end, the witness’ testimony was not required, as the defendant pleaded guilty. However, she had to interpret between him and the prosecution barrister during an hour-long conference meeting before the start of the hearing. As the case circumstances were very sad, she felt that “in a professional manner, [she] had to be reassuring and to pass clearly all the messages that people [were] supporting [him]” (L514-5). She adds that she also needed to convey the sympathy that they felt for him, that they were understanding, and she was trying to comfort him. Although the court seemed sympathetic to the witness, she also felt that it was her duty to comfort him. She argues that her need to act in such a manner arose from the fact that the witness could not feel the atmosphere. She also states that although it was more cost-effective to conduct the hearing in VCI A, she feels that it was important that the witness “shouldn’t lose on emotional support” (L550-1). This would suggest that in this particular case during the conference meeting, her alignment with the witness would be higher than with the barrister.

P6 states that overlapping speeches was “a big problem and people in court are not aware”, and they would just carry on speaking (L136). She says that it made her feel uncomfortable because it was impossible for her to interpret two speeches in consecutive, and she could not have whispered either. Interestingly, she did not interrupt the interaction. However, she believes that it was easier to manage some other parts of the interaction. When experiencing sound-related issues, P6 felt that

⁹³ As this happened during a conference meeting, and not during the hearing itself, it was decided that her experience would not form part of the data summarised in Table 5.

she had to ask for repetitions. As she was standing at the front row, “everyone [could] see [her]” (L255), and it was easier to establish eye contact, or exchange a smile with the judge or the clerk, and they interrupted the party speaking saying “please don’t forget that we have an interpreter here” (L314). If this strategy was not working, she would then raise her hands. If this was still unsuccessful, she would then intervene verbally. In any case, she “never felt that they thought it was an unnecessary interruption” (L298). However, she also mentions that the judge expected her to provide a summary, and not to interpret fully all the interventions. Overall, P6’s ability to manage the interaction remained quite high.

Based on P6’s narrative, her presentation of self was low, and she aligned equally with the court participants and the defendant. However, when interpreting for the witness, she aligned more with him than with the prosecution barrister. Furthermore, her interaction management remained quite high. Her role-space models could be designed as follows:

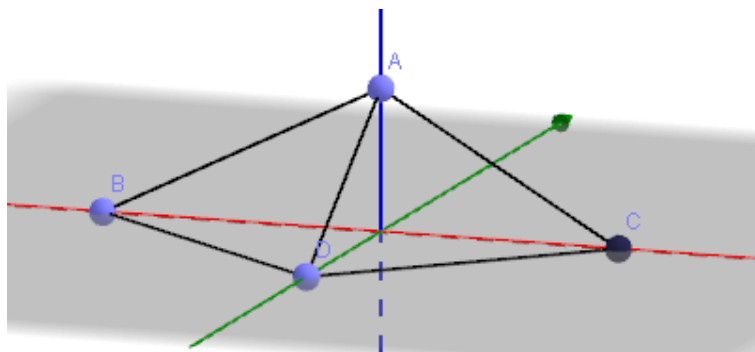


Figure 25: P6’s role-space model with the defendant and the court in VCI A

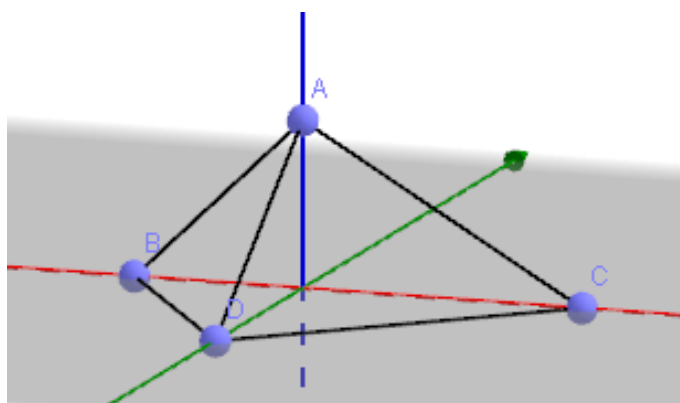


Figure 26: P6’s role-space model with the witness and the prosecution in VCI A

P7

P7 says that she was able to be sworn-in in Crown Courts but not in Magistrates' Courts. However, she indicates that being sworn-in never occurred in Magistrates' Courts, even in face-to-face mode. In these Magistrates' Courts, interpreters were apparently sworn-in only for a trial, or when a witness was giving evidence, but not for preliminary hearings. Nonetheless, she states that it was obvious for any party that she was the interpreter, as the judge and the clerk introduced her. She adds that participants realised that she was the interpreter because "they saw [her] speaking and interpreting" (L121-2). Furthermore, she was able to introduce herself during the conference meeting with the defendant before the start of the hearing. Similarly to P6, she states that VCI A helped her remain impartial with the defendant "because [she had] that distance between" herself and the defendant (L137-8). It therefore appears that her presentation of self was low.

P7 did not report any issues concerning the ability to hear or see well the defendant. In fact, she states that it was easier to hear the court participants in VCI A than in face-to-face as when interpreting in the dock, "[court participants] don't care if you can't hear anything" (L158). However, if they encountered technical issues in VCI A, then the court participants were also affected, and the court "[would] make an effort to fix the feed" (L 154). P7 claims that the main issue was the absence of "body signals" with the defendant (L167), and she states that "you are not absolutely certain that the non-English speaker can understand what you are saying, the way you are interpreting, and what people are saying in court" (L167-9). As a consequence, this would affect her ability to obtain feedback from the defendant. She also indicates that it was more difficult to interpret cultural differences, because of the distance with the defendant. This was particularly hindering her as she saw her role as a cultural expert, but she wasn't able to act in such a manner due to the "distancing, (...) the barrier between you and the person you are interpreting for" (L280-1). Similarly to P6, P7 states that it was also more difficult to interpret fully the content to the defendant, as she was supposed to interpret in consecutive mode, and she was not given the time to do it. Nonetheless, she says that she was there to "satisfy [her] clients" and "as long as you are getting the main points across, (...) it should be sufficient" (L255-7). It therefore appears her alignment with court participants remained high, as it is

easier for her to hear the court proceedings. However, the lack of feedback and the distance reduced her alignment with the defendant.

P7 states that it was more “daunting” to ask for clarifications and repetitions because it had to be done over the microphone, and like P6, she felt that she was “more in the limelight” (L173). However, she compared it to interpreting for a witness in face-to-face where she would usually stand at the witness box. For this reason, she asserts that as an interpreter “one should get used to it” (L177). She also believes that the distance between herself and the defendant meant that it was less likely that she would have to manage the defendant interjecting or taking part in a dyadic exchange. Similar to P6’s experience, P7 also reports that overlapping speeches occurred a few times in VCI A, but not as often as in face-to-face mode. She explains that this could be due to the nature of the hearing as the parties in court tended “to get caught up [with] these kinds of more administrative” hearings (L205-6). In such situation she believes that it was impossible to interpret, and she therefore made a note of the main points, and “when there [was] a break, [she would] quickly try to step in and interpret that for the non-English speaker” (P7: L201-2). She also argues that as interpreters could not work in simultaneous mode, therefore court participants tried to shorten the time spent in the hearing. Court participants “want you just to get the main point across rather than giving an exact interpretation of everything that was being discussed and said” (L227-30). She mentions that summaries could be required by the judge. Or, sometimes, it would be simply impossible to provide the defendant with a full-rendition. Overall, P7’s interaction management was low. She would not interrupt parties to signal turn-taking issues and overlaps, and instead of stopping the interaction, she would try to manage the interaction by adding missing pieces of information during a break.

Based on her narrative, P7’s presentation of self was low, and so was her interaction management. She also aligned more with the court than the defendant. Her role space model could thus be designed as follows:

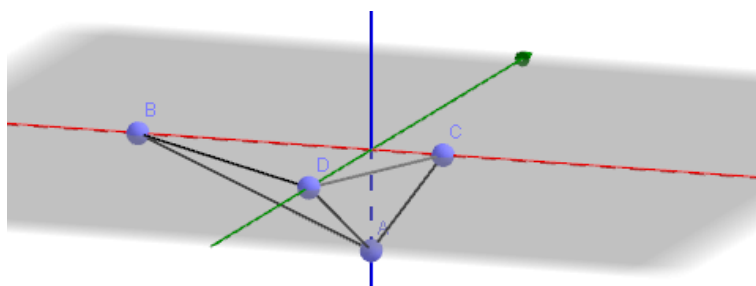


Figure 27: P7's role-space model in VCI A

P8

P8 was sworn-in in court, but the defendant on the other side of the screen did not see the process. She argues that it was not obvious to him that she was the interpreter. She states that by not being physically present with the defendant, she feels that she lost the opportunity to introduce herself, and to verify whether she could understand the defendant, and vice-versa. She thought that it was “disorientating (...) for both sides” (L91). Furthermore, she does not think that she was seen as being impartial, but she does not believe that this was a major concern, as, according to P8, being seen as impartial was more important during interviews at police stations. Furthermore, even though the judge mentioned the people present, P8 states that the introduction happened too quickly, and that the person not physically present would not remember who the various parties were. Interestingly, she argues that even when the defendants are in the dock, the introduction takes place so fast that they would not have time to remember. From the viewpoint of the court participants, she states that she was able to be sworn-in in front of the court. However, she was not satisfied with the process as she felt that it was rushed, and this could be due to staffing pressure that the courts have to face. As a result, her presentation of self as the court interpreter in VCI A was very low.

P8 states that there was no particular issue regarding the quality of sound and picture. However, she mentions that the defendant could not see her clearly, because the defendant could see the judge on one screen, and the other people on another screen, and therefore “people’s faces are probably quite small so he can’t really see the expression on them” (L437-8). As the defendant could not see her well, she felt that she could not “give that feedback, the back channelling” to the defendant to show him that she understood his intervention (L147). P8 also

states that she did not need to reproduce the defendant's body language, as the defendant was on screen, and the court could see "the gesturing of the person on camera" (L213-4). Instead, she states that she focused on interpreting the content of the hearing, and the participants' tones. The fact that she could not introduce herself impacted on her alignment with the defendant as she could not "tune in" (L91) in order to "zoom in to the way these people speak and mak[e] sure that [they] underst[ood] [each other]" (L142-3). For these reasons, she hypothesizes that VCI B may be a more suitable option than VCI A, although she has never interpreted in such a mode. All in all, P8 aligned more towards the court than the defendant due to the absence of back-channelling and body language, and the impossibility to "tune in".

Interestingly, P8 states that she used to think that she was not allowed to manage interaction, and used to define her role in line with the machine model. However, since reading Llewelyn-Jones and Lee (2014)'s monograph, she says that she was more pro-active in managing interaction. To some extent, interpreters "had to be [more proactive] because [interpreters] have to prevent miscarriages of justice" (L254-5). She states that defendants may be less involved in the hearing, compared to face-to-face or during a trial. For this reason, she had to manage the interaction less than in a face-to-face setting. However, she adds that she would intervene to ask for repetitions, or clarify any misunderstandings, confusions, or loss, if needs be. She also states that she would always "give precedence to whatever the defendant [was] saying because [she was] his voice in the end" (L237-8). To summarise, it appears that her interaction management ranged from low to high as the need to intervene is highly reduced by the use of VC equipment, but she did not believe that she could not have intervened if she had needed to do so.

Overall, then, P8's presentation of self was very low. She aligned more with the court than the defendant, and her interaction management ranged from low to high. Her role-space model could be designed as follows:

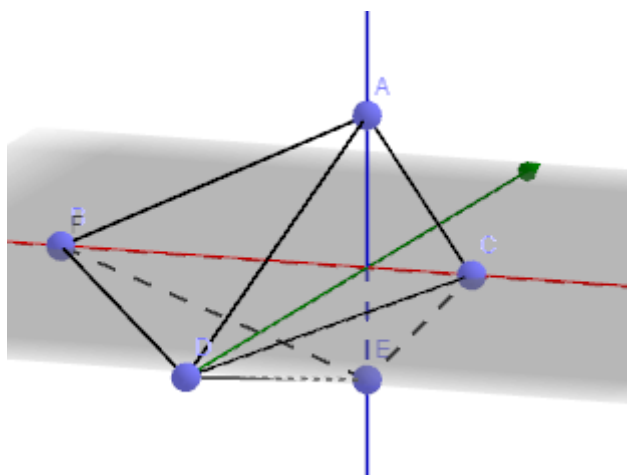


Figure 28: P8's role-space model in VCI A

P9

P9 reports that she was sworn-in, and she was either introduced to all the participants in the court hearing by the judge, or she could introduce herself. She also states that she would be able to introduce herself during the conference meeting with the defendant, before the start of the hearing. Sometimes, she had already interpreted for the defendant at the police station. Therefore, he would know who she was. Overall, she claims that it was obvious for all the parties that she was the interpreter, and therefore her presentation of self was low.

P9 states that sometimes the quality of the picture could be poor, and in that case, it would be more difficult to read body language. However, she later adds that the technology has improved over the past years, and now some screens are “huge” (L331). In terms of the sound quality, she reports that it could be problematic as sometimes, it was echoing. Another point was that the sound could be worsened when the defendant “had a strong accent” (L136). She also indicates that it was easier in fact to see the defendant’s facial expressions because she was standing opposite the screen, rather than sitting next to him, which she would usually do in face-to-face mode. P9 also reports that she did not perceive any difficulties when she needed to intervene to one of the parties. However, unlike the other participants in this study, P9 suggests that the defendants tended to intervene more since they were in familiar and less daunting surroundings (that was the prison facility rather than in court) (L174-5). It could also be due to the fact that, when introducing herself, P9 always encouraged the defendant to intervene if they did not understand her, which they apparently did. With regard to the court

participants, she feels that “sometimes it was more familiar because [she] was sitting next to the judge and the lawyer” (sic. L186-7). She later adds that it was “like a family. [They were] sat all together, [her], the judge...” (L265). It appears that her alignment with the defendant was high. However, she aligned even more with the court due to the seating arrangement.

P9 reports that she was able to ask for clarifications or repetitions, and in fact, she “didn’t find any difference”, compared to a face-to-face hearing (P9: L194). In her introduction she encouraged the defendant to interrupt her. Interestingly and unlike what the other participants in this study reported, she states that the defendants were very willing to intervene when they did not understand, and she interrupted the court proceedings (L164). It therefore appears that her interaction management remained high with all the parties.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management was high. Her alignment with the defendant was high, and it was even higher with the court participants. Her role-space model could be designed as follows:

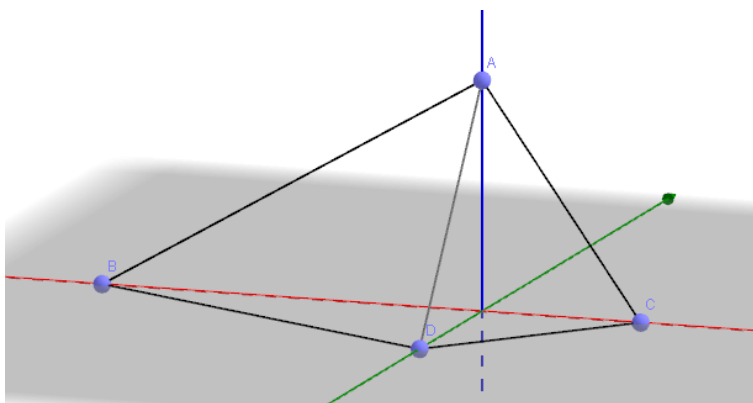


Figure 29: P9's role-space model in VCI A

P10

P10 reports that there was no difference whether the hearing took place in VCI A or face-to-face. He believes that his role remained the same. Worth noting, however, is that, when asked more specific questions during the interview, it became apparent that some aspects of his role were affected, without him being aware of it.

First, VCI A improved his perception of impartiality, as he was not seated next to the defendant. In terms of trust, he argues that VCI A did not necessarily enhance

trust, but it did not worsen it either. In fact, he does not perceive trust as being part of the interpreter's role. He also claims that confidentiality was not an issue in VCI, as some other interpreters would tend to believe. Indeed, he states that confidentiality could be breached, regardless whether the hearing takes place in face-to-face or VCI modes. However, he raised some issues with the possibility of introducing himself to some parties. It appears that VCI did not affect his presentation of self with the English-speaking parties as they are used to "a culture of remote" working (L119). He was also able to develop a gesture system with the participants in court so that they were aware when they needed to pause. However, this was not the case when he was interpreting for the non-English speaking party on the other side of the screen. He states that:

clearing up what the role is, and giving the conversation a rhythm is much more difficult. [Foreign country] is not a remote culture. But if the Anglo-Saxon parties are remote, it is never a problem. I just express my role very clearly, and they say yes, yes, and we move on. (L120-3)

This suggests that his presentation of self would differ between the parties, and that it would be higher with the English speaking party in court than with the non-English speaking defendant on the other side of the screen. This is confirmed later on in the interview as he states that "the video-link allows [him] to be there in [his] purest form" (L193) in the sense that he would not have to speak to the defendant before the hearing, what he referred to as an "off-line moment" (L191), despite the fact that, as mentioned by other participants, this could have been an opportunity to introduce himself. So it appears that his presentation of self with the parties in court was low. However, his presentation of self with the defendant on the other side of the screen was lower.

As for the sound quality, P10 encountered some technical issues, in which case he would "go as far as [he] can, then [he] just suspend[s] it and say[s] 'sorry, I am unable to ensure this is good'" (L212). He adds that such issues were also experienced in face-to-face hearings, where the sound quality could be poor. He draws an interesting parallel with conference interpreting:

the chances that the video-link ceases to work to become unacceptable equals to the chances of somebody slipping a glass of water into the

console when you are live, or tripping over a cable and disconnecting all the booths, which has happened. (L215-8)

Although he believes that he had read this somewhere, he could not remember the source, and it has not been possible to verify it. However, this still illustrates his belief that the chance for the sound and/or the picture to be poor to the extent that the working conditions became unacceptable was rather remote. He also acknowledges that VCI impacted on body language. However, he does not perceive it as an issue since “a good work smith, a good interpreter should not rely too much on body language anyway” (L228-9). He also believes that reading body language was not taught as part of the interpreting skills to acquire, and that nuances could be conveyed through tones. Nevertheless, VCI A had some impact on other parts of his alignment with the defendant. He states that in the foreign country “remote is associated with television, which is then associated with entertainment. (...). If it is on television, it is not true” (L126-30). This leads to question the extent to which VCI A could affect the defendants’ perception of court gravitas, when they are in prison, and how much he could align with the defendant. He also believed that VCI A was positive as:

there is less empathy. If you are sitting next to a young girl who is still wearing her party dress and has been beaten up the night before, you feel sorry for her. You would like to help her and hug her. And this does not happen [in VCI A]. If anything, it enhances these qualities. (L194-7)

It appears that P10 would tend to refrain from aligning with the defendant, and he perceives this as a benefit gained through the use of VCI A. This feeling is also enhanced by the fact that the defendant was aware that the hearing was video-recorded, and therefore they would not engage in dyadic exchanges. However, he believes that Anglo-Saxon participants were more ready to engage in VC hearings, and he developed techniques (hand gestures) to interpret the court participants’ interventions, as discussed above. It therefore seems that P10 aligned more with the court than with the defendant.

Finally, P10 believed that the use of VC equipment had no impact on managing the interaction. He states that he had been able to seek clarifications and repetitions, and that the use of VC equipment had no impact on this. To manage the interaction, he had a set of phrases such as “the interpreter is asking for clarifications”, “this is an addition of the interpreter”, “the interpreting is asking to

repeat” (L243-5). In the interview he highlights the importance of informing all the parties so that the court participants do not think that “[the interpreter is] going [off] on a tangent, (...) and requests should be formulated in a ‘business-like manner” (L246-7). However, his interaction management with the defendant differed. As mentioned previously, he believed that “giving the conversation a rhythm is much more difficult” (L220) with the defendant, which does not seem to be the case with the parties in court. This could arise from the defendant’s perception of VC hearings, and his lack of involvement in the hearing. Hence, it appears that P10’s interaction management was high with the court, and quite high with the defendant.

Overall, P10’s presentation of self with the court was low, and it was even lower with the defendant. He aligned more towards the court participants than the defendant. His interaction management with the defendant was high, but lower than that with the court. In this instance, it appears that P10 creates two separate role-spaces. His role-space model could be designed as follows:

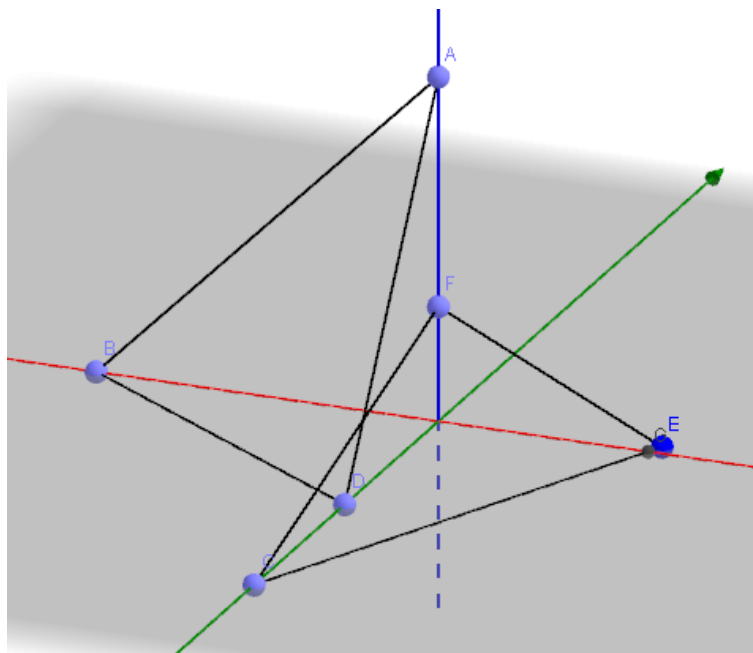


Figure 30: P10’s role-space model in VCI A

P12

Although she could not be certain, P12 feels that she was able to be sworn-in and be introduced to all the parties. She highlights the importance that she was introduced as the court interpreter because “otherwise [the defendants] don’t

know. Sometimes, they think that you may be the solicitor or the police” (L175-6). She expressed some concerns about impartiality. Although she believes that she was impartial, she feels that she could not convey this to the defendant as “that physical distance ma[de] a difference” (L187-8). Interestingly, she does not raise the same concerns regarding the court actors with whom she was present. Overall, it seems that her presentation of self is lower with the defendant than with the participants in court.

P12 argues that in face-to-face hearings, there is a “bound” that is established between the interpreter and the defendant, and it is inevitable. However, as mentioned by P3, she also states that the defendant could be unwilling “to accept the interpreter” (L244-7). In VCI A, she feels that she could not build a bound with the defendant. This was due to the fact that she could not establish body language or eye contact when the defendant was on the other side of the screen, and due to the absence of proximity. As a consequence, there is a “lack of perception of what [the defendants] are like, what they feel” (L254). However, the situation differs when she is with the defendant. She asserts that when she is next to him, “there is a lot [she] can learn from them without words” (L255). She also suggests that the defendant may feel the same. Interestingly, when asked about the possibilities to intervene, she states that “there [was] not the possibility to say much more than needed in court” (L127), which suggests that any intervention could be restricted by the contextual environment in which the interpreter works. She also mentions that the court hearings tended to be rather short, but “they were long enough to make [her] feel that it wasn’t quite right” (L144-5). Her alignment with the court also seemed affected as she was not with the defendant in court. She states that “feeling much the centre of the attention, which didn’t happen when [she] was doing conventional type of interpreting” made her feel very uncomfortable in court (L116-7). She also highlights that there were technical issues, and the defendant seemed “totally confused about the whole thing” (L122-3). However, she also states that despite that confusion, the defendants always replied to the questions that were asked (P12: L209). Overall, it appears that her alignment with the defendant and the court participant was equally low. As an aside, she states that during Asylum and Immigration Tribunal Hearings, “it [was] a much more intimate environment so it [didn’t] feel as overwhelming as the courtroom” (P12: L350-1),

which raises questions regarding the impact that a criminal courtroom environment has on her abilities to align with the participants.

P12 states that she would intervene to ask for repetitions and clarifications, if it was necessary. However, she says that it would have been “a bit more uncomfortable, even more than in face-to-face” (L220). Her reluctance to ask for clarifications or repetitions came from her perception that the court, and more specifically barristers, were “not very understanding” of the fact that interpreters asked for clarifications to be “as precise as possible” (L222-4). The use of VCI also restricted any opportunity to ask direct questions or establish dyadic exchanges due to the physical distance between the interpreter and the defendant, and the fact that the defendant may also “feel more uncomfortable” on the other side of the screen (L262). As a result, it appears that her interaction management would range from low to quite high, as she would intervene to seek clarifications but the need to do so was quite low due to the use of VC equipment.

Overall, her presentation of self with the court participants was low, and very low with the defendant. Her interaction management ranged from low to quite high. She aligned equally with the defendant and the court participants, although for both parties her alignment was low. Her role-space model could be designed as follows⁹⁴:

⁹⁴ In order to ensure that her model remains legible, it was decided to split her role-space between two models that represent her role-space with the participants in court on the left-hand side, and her role-space with the defendant on the right-hand side.

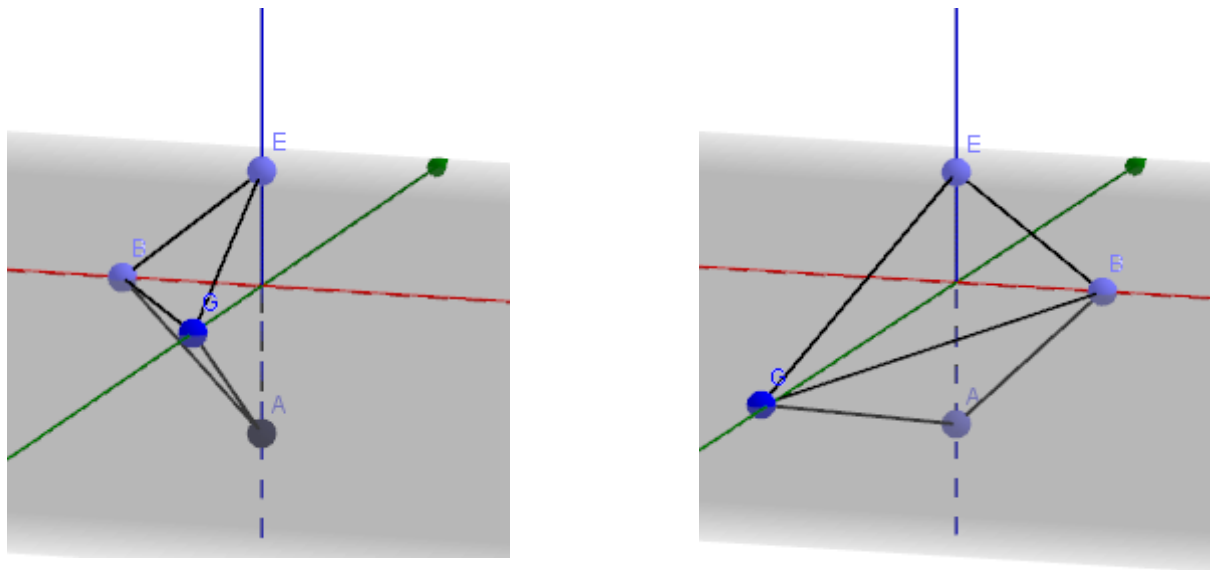


Figure 31: Figure 12: P12's role-space model with the court (left) and the defendant (right) in VCI A

P14

P14's recollection of her experience during VCI A hearings was quite succinct as the hearing occurred "a long time ago" (L230). P14's presentation of self appeared low as she was introduced as the court interpreter, and she was also sworn-in. However, she was not able to remember exactly what happened.

In terms of alignment, P14 believes that there was no difference between VCI A or face-to-face. She does not report on any issue concerning cultural differences, and this could be due to the fact that the frequency of cultural references in such types of hearing could be limited, as she suggests when narrating her experience in VCI B. It therefore appears that P14 aligns equally with the court and the defendant.

As already mentioned, P14 argues that VCI A hearings tend to be short. As a consequence, she believes that the need to seek clarifications or repetitions was low. She also explains that it was easier to hear the questions in VCI A than in VCI B, and she would not hesitate to intervene to ask for a clarification or repetition. She believes that the use of technologies had no impact on her ability to manage the interaction. It therefore appears that the interaction management ranged from low to high.

Overall, it appears that her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management ranged from low to high. She aligned equally with the court and the defendant. Her role-space model could be designed as follows:

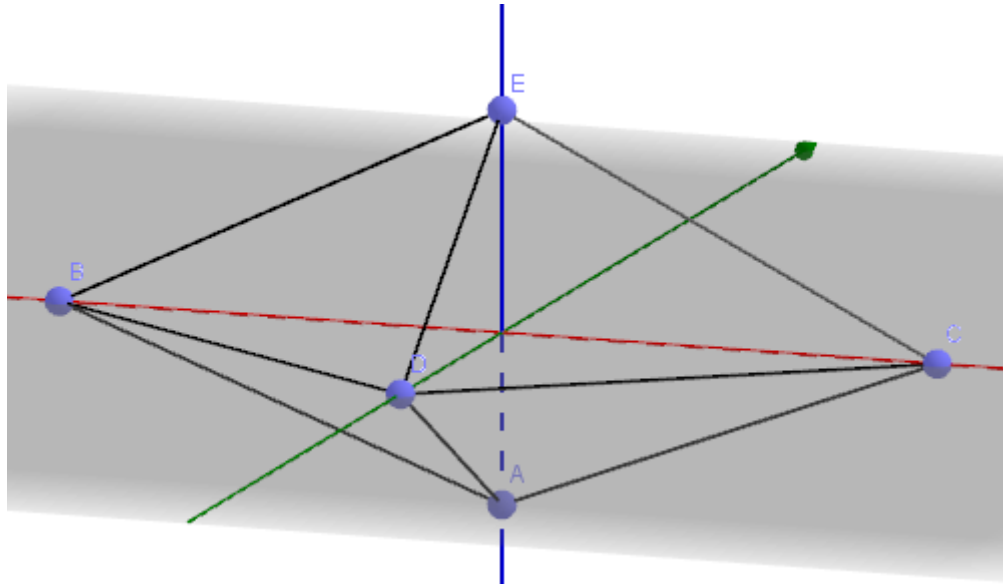


Figure 32: P14's role-space model in VCI A

P15

Although P15 interpreted twice in VCI A, her interpreting experience as the court interpreter, on both occasions, was very limited. Indeed, on the first occasion, she was not required to interpret (the defendant decided to speak in English), and on the second occasion, she was instructed to interpret only at the end of the hearing. Nevertheless, her experience reveals some interesting points that concurs with other participants' interpreting experience in VCI A.

P15 indicates that she was not sworn-in. Nonetheless, she was able to provide the court with her NRPSI card, and she introduced herself to the defendant. As such, she does not report any issue regarding her presentation of self.

AP15 reports that on the first occasion, the sound was not very good, but it was not an issue as she was not interpreting. However, on the second occasion, she states that there were no technical issues, and she could hear and see the defendant well on the other side of the screen. She adds that it was not necessarily easy to reproduce the body language. However, she states that:

I do feel like sometimes I am in a movie, without flattering myself. Even from the beginning. I do like to make sure that I express myself the way

they would if they could speak English. So I do try to do that. And without flattering myself, some professional look at me sometimes, like of gosh. And they look at me more than at the person. I don't know, the way I put the same voice on and that kind of thing. (L156-61)

It seems that she was still able to reproduce not only the body language but also the tone of the defendant, and as a result she was able to align with him but also with the court participants by being a 'mirrored' image of the defendant. Overall, it seems that she aligned equally between all the parties.

Finally, P15 does not report on any need to manage the interaction. This could arise from the fact that she hardly interpreted during the VCI A hearing. It could also be due to the fact that she was instructed by the judge to interpret only at the end of the hearing. The judge summarised the points that had been discussed, and she then interpreted them to the defendant. However, P15 argues that she would have intervened to seek for clarification or repetitions, had she had to do so. She believes that the use of VC equipment would not have impacted on her ability to manage the interaction, as she would do in face-to-face. Hence, her interaction management was ranging from very low to high.

All in all, there is not enough data to draw a role-space model for her first experience as she did not interpret. However, it appears that during her second experience, her presentation of self was low. Her interaction management from very low to high, and she aligned equally between the court and the defendant. Her role-space model could therefore be designed as follows:

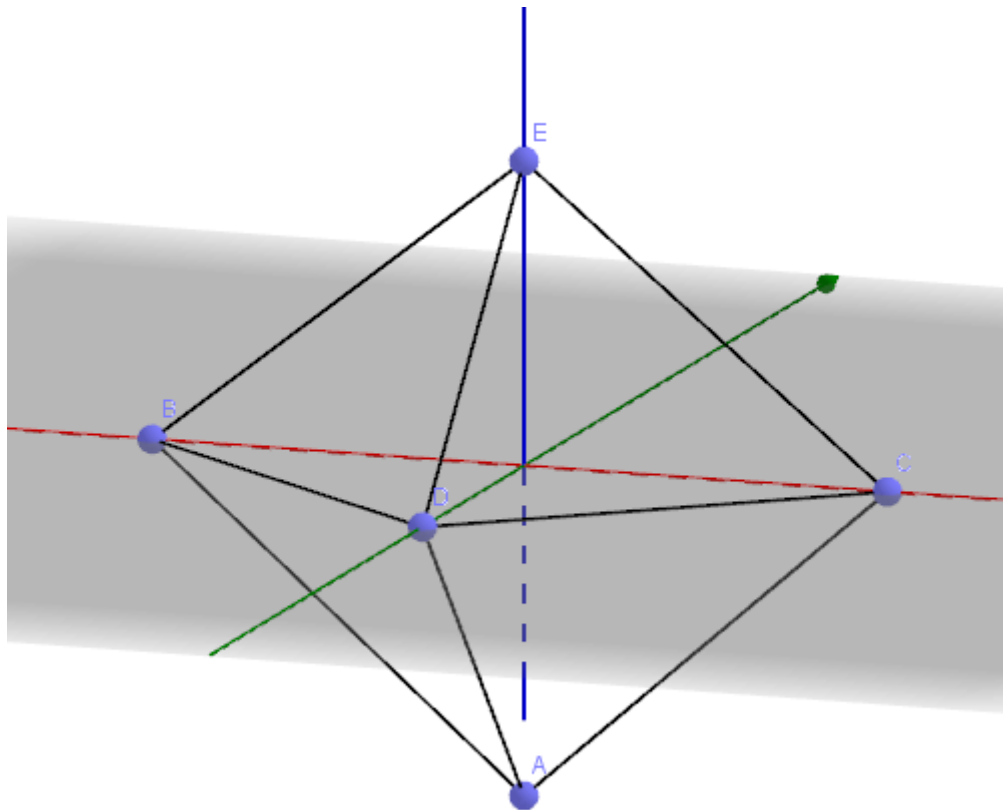


Figure 33: P15's role-space model in VCI A

P16

P16 was introduced during the pre-trial conference that took place between the defence team and the defendant. She was also sworn-in in court at the beginning of the court hearing. She highlights that she never had a case when she was not sworn-in. Overall, her presentation of self seems unaffected by the use of VC equipment, and it remained low.

P16 does not report on any technical issues. She feels that the hearing was “a bit different” (L144) as she was not used to hearing her voice through speakers. Also, she believes that the defence and the prosecution's interventions were rather stilted. Indeed, she argues that when VC equipment was used the defence was speaking too slowly, whereas the prosecution was speaking too fast. This put P16 under some pressure. Despite this, she asserts that overall there was no noticeable difference, and it was “absolutely fine” (L147). When questioned about body language, she states that she was not necessarily relying on people's body language because “some people would go over the top and [she was] not gonna dance round” (sic. L169). As with the case of body language, P16 reports that she

“didn’t think that [she did] anything with [her] tone” (L170). However, P16 put more emphasis on register. She states that “you should really have to keep the register of the person you are interpreting for”, and this constituted, for her, “one of the basic rules” as an interpreter (L167-8). She mentions that in court, the register tends to vary greatly between the barristers and the defendant. This was particularly true in her language pair as:

[language] is not the first language for [the defendant] and the fact that their education is low, well often, I am not putting everybody in the same pot, but the majority of them, which means that their register is very, very low. Even their language is very basic. So, I always try to explain to the barrister, the legal advisor that it is the way they are because often we found [it] difficult in a few cases. (L183-8)

Interestingly, she did not seem to adapt the register herself, but she would be profiling the defendant, and she would then feed her assessment back to the court parties so that they would adapt their register. Furthermore, when asked questions about the defendant, she mentioned that she “always [kept her] distance with [him]” (P16: L222). She believes that in that sense, VCI A helped her establish “a distance” between her and the defendant as he would be more reluctant to ask her questions or intervene since he was on the other side of the screen (P16: L254-7). She finally states that she would usually intervene and raise her hand, if she needed to stop the court hearing. However, when narrating her experience in VCI A, she did not interrupt the barrister when he was speaking too fast. This could be due to the fact that although she felt that there was “a bit more pressure”, she believed that “it was fine [and] [t]here was no particular issues” (L100). Overall, it seems that P16 with the defendant was lower. She seemed to align more with the court participants as she profiled the defendant, and she would report this so that they could adapt their register.

P16 indicates that in general, she does not perceive any difference in terms of interaction management, whether the hearing took place in face-to-face or in VCI A. If she needed to ask for clarification, she interrupted the parties. However, she perceived that the need to manage the interaction was naturally low in court settings. Indeed, she reports that she never had overlapping speeches in court (whether in face-to-face or in VCI A), and she hoped that “[the defendant] would have some sort of respect and that they wouldn’t jump into the barrister’s speaking

and they would wait” (L347). Interestingly, she does not question the possibility that overlapping speeches could occur between barristers, for instance. As an aside, she indicates that overlapping speeches and dyadic exchanges initiated by the defendant occur more frequently when she interprets in VCI A between the solicitor in his office and the defendant who is in prison. In such situations, she would explain the comment/overlapping speech to the solicitor. She adds that such comments/interjections tend to be discarded because they are often deemed irrelevant. Overall, it appears that her interaction management ranged from low to quite high, as she would have sought clarifications or repetitions had she had to do so (even though she did not always interrupt the barrister), but this had not occurred.

In general, then, her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management ranged from low to quite high. It also appears that she aligned more with the parties in court than with the defendant. Her role-space could then be designed as follows:

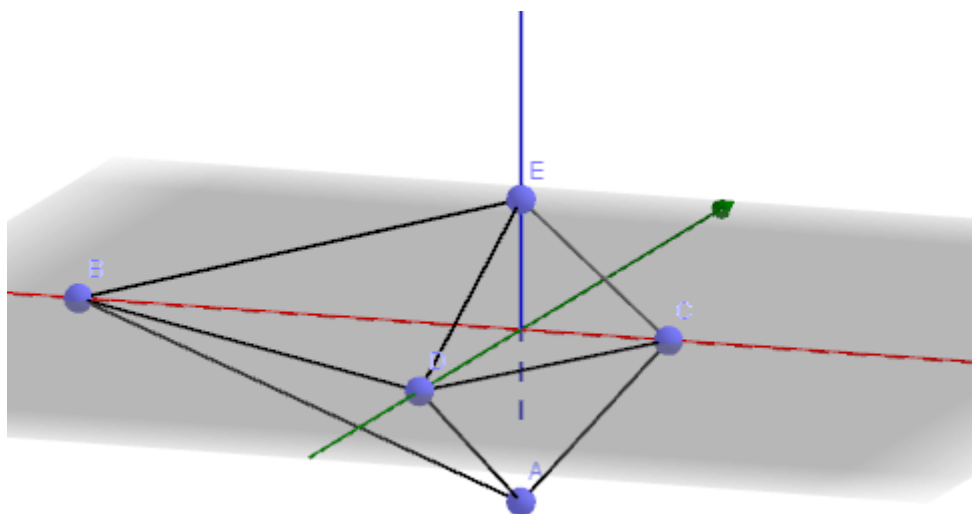


Figure 34: P16's role-space model in VCI A

P17

P17 reports that she had already been sworn in when the witness appeared on the screen. However, she does not perceive this as an issue since she had interpreted for the witness on a previous case (as a suspect in another case in a police station), and therefore she believes that all the parties knew that she was the court interpreter. She also argues that VC equipment did not impact on

impartiality as she believes people understood her role and “they kn[e]w that [she was] only there to convey what they [were] saying” (L149). Overall, her presentation of self was low.

P17 states that the quality of sound could be problematic. When this occurred, she asked the witness to repeat, or she had to repeat information to the witness. She asserts that it depends on “the link-up and how good the connection [was]” (L116). She always encourages witnesses or defendants to seek clarifications if they are not sure of what has been said. She states that:

They usually ask if they don’t understand something, which is a good thing. Because I always encourage people. I always say from myself, if they can’t hear me properly or if they can’t understand what is being said, well, I am quite happy to repeat it for them because court settings are serious matters and we don’t want anybody to be not sure about what they have heard and maybe give the wrong answer. (L120-5)

P17 not only encourages the defendant to intervene, but she puts the onus on him to seek clarifications, if he does not understand. However, her main concern arises from the distance created by the use of VC equipment. Indeed, P17 states that “the video-link [was] a bit false” as she believes that the defendant and/or the witness “[were] not really part in the proceedings” (L190-2), which would lower her alignment with the defendant. However, she did not report similar feelings with the court participants. Overall, it seems that P17 aligned more with the court than with the defendant.

As mentioned above, P17 asked to clarify or repeat interventions due to the quality of the sound. However, it seems that this was done only when requested by the other party, which would amount to interpreting an utterance, rather than intervening from her own accord. Similarly to P16, P17 reports that she never experienced any issues related to overlapping speeches. Indeed, she states that she never experienced a situation where “other people are speaking whilst I am interpreting” (L157-8). It could be possible that she did not need to manage the interaction during the hearing as she gave specific instructions to defendants and witnesses beforehand. Indeed, she states that “in a court setting and especially for people answering the question, they need[ed] to give concise answer to the question. And I d[id] say that to people” (P17: L160-2). At this point, P17 was speaking about her experience in general, and it is unclear how much instruction

she would be able to provide to the witness before the start of the hearing in VCI A mode. It transpires that her interaction management in VCI A was low. Although she would seek to clarify or repeat parts of the intervention, this was done only when requested by the witness. Furthermore, her instructions to be concise could be a factor that would lower the need to manage the interaction.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, as was her interaction management. Furthermore, her participant alignment was higher with the court than with the witness. Her role-space can be designed as follows:

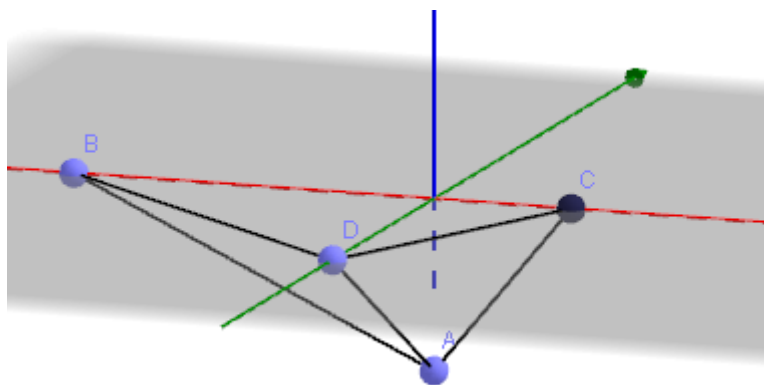


Figure 35: P17's role-space model in VCI A

P18

P18 was able to be sworn-in and be introduced to all the parties. Interestingly, she remembers that at least on one occasion, she was sworn-in once the videoconference equipment was running. Therefore, the defendant could see the process. She also adds that the court “turned the camera to [her]” (P18: L72) so that she could introduce herself to the defendant. She believes that this was an important process as it gave her the opportunity to verify whether the defendant was speaking a particular dialect or not. Furthermore, she claims that regardless of the mode (i.e. face-to-face or VCI), interpreters should always remain impartial, and VCI A does not impair her impartiality. Overall, her presentation of self was low.

P18 argues that it was more difficult to interpret for the defendant on the other side of the screen because “you don’t get the instant response from them or confirm whether they understand” (sic. L99-100). This arises from the fact that it was more difficult to read the defendant’s body language when he appeared on a screen.

Indeed, she states that “when it is on the screen, you can’t really tell. You can only see their face and when there are cameras on them, they probably feel nervous anyway. So it is very hard to tell” (L107-9). Consequently, she feels that it was more difficult to obtain feedback from the defendant, whether it was verbal or non-verbal. She also adds that in a face-to-face hearing,

It takes away the uncertainty of what’s behind, what’s on the other side of the screen kind of thing. And they can see the whole atmosphere, or the whole court rather than thinking: oh, I am being looked at through this camera here. (L148-51).

Therefore, it seems that the defendant would be more likely to engage in his hearing in a face-to-face context, and the use of VC equipment creates a certain degree of uncertainty. Furthermore, she states that she would paraphrase “when it is reasonable” (L 113). However, this was rather rare as she explains that the context would usually clarify the content. Interestingly, she would adopt the same approach whether it is in VCI A or face-to-face, which would suggest that her alignment with the defendant would be naturally low. She also states that it would be more difficult to know when to paraphrase because of the distance. This could also be linked to the absence of feedback as to whether or not the defendant understood the interpreter’s performance. For these reasons, she suggests that it would be more difficult to conduct a “complex hearing” via VCI, but she does not express any issues in terms of VCI use “if it is something that is straightforward and not complicated at all” (P18: L120-1). It is worth noting that her narration focuses mainly on her alignment with the defendant, and she did not report any particular issues with court participant alignment. Overall, P18 alignment would be lower with the defendant than with the court.

When asked about clarifications and repetitions, P18 states that there was no significant difference between face-to-face or VCI. However, she claims that if the video equipment was not working well, she felt that she was delaying the court process by asking for clarifications. She also mentions that defendants were not engaging in dyadic exchanges, at least not in court. This could also arise from the fact that “they are sometimes a bit overwhelmed by this video-link thing. The whole experience makes them quite nervous and they don’t know what they are about” (L142-4). In line with other participants, it seems that her interaction management ranged from low to quite high.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management ranged from low to quite high. She aligned more with the court than the defendant. Her role-space could be designed as follows:

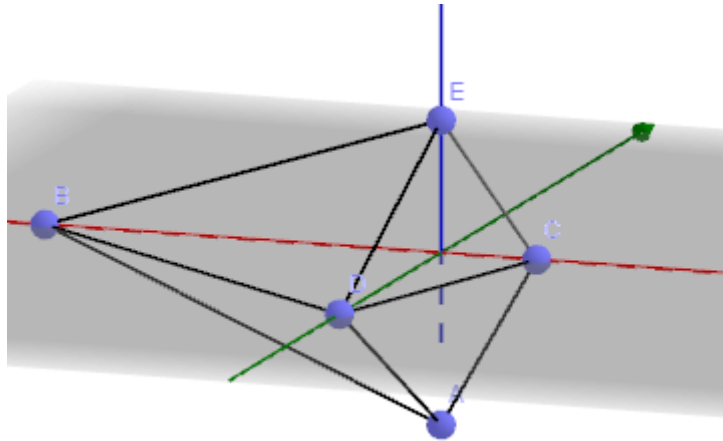


Figure 36: P18's role-space model in VCI A

2. The participants' perception of their role in VCI B

P1

Similarly to her VCI A experience, P1 was sworn-in in VCI B. In fact, she questions how an interpreter could be sworn-in when interpreting from a prison, as they may not have a Bible available, for instance. She hypothesises that due to the difficulty of being sworn-in, this could be the reason why VCI B set-up was not as often used as VCI A. Furthermore, the procedures that clearly indicate that she was the interpreter were missing (i.e. being sworn-in in front of everyone, walking back to the back of the room to sit next to the defendant, introducing herself to him). She argues that “the whole process sets out some boundaries and sends out certain signals. I am missing all of that” (L446-7). She also states that VCI B could impair impartiality. Whilst they were waiting for the videolink connection to be established with the courtroom, the defendant wanted to speak. She felt very uncomfortable as “if I am sat in a dingy little room and we’ve been waiting for two hours for the video-link to get going, I am just going to seem to be just damn right [downright] rude if I don’t chat” (L381-3). She also states that VCI B could impact on the interpreter’s safety, as she was seated with the defendant and only one guard. She also believes that the defendant could find out personal information about the interpreter. Indeed, it happened to her once in face-to-face that a defendant

managed to obtain enough information to then find her personal phone number. Overall, it appears that her presentation of self, as the court interpreter, was very low.

Furthermore, P1 felt very uncomfortable about being near the defendant. She argues that although there was a prison officer present in the room, she believes that such a setting raises concerns over safety. She also states that she felt uncomfortable towards the court due to the absence of proximity with the court staff and the "imbalance of numbers" with all the other court participants being on the other side of the screen (L325-6). In that case, her alignment was equally low between the participants in court and the defendant.

P1 feels that VCI B impacted on her ability to ask for clarifications and repetitions. Interestingly, she did not raise it as an issue with the court. However, she reports that the VCI B set-up is problematic since it gave more opportunities for the defendant to 'fraternise' with her when she was in prison by asking questions such as "where are you from? Did the barrister say anything?" (L308-9). Such situations would arise before the start of the videoconference hearing, if she was left waiting with the defendant. Although a prison officer was present, she felt that 'there [was] no point in interpreting for the prison officer because they [were] only there for [her] safety but there [were] no other professionals" (L314-5). Interestingly, she did not raise this dilemma with the prison officer as she had not wanted to appear rude to the defendant. Overall, her interaction management was low.

All in all, her presentation of self was very low. Her alignment was equally low between the participants on each side of the screen, and her interaction management was low.

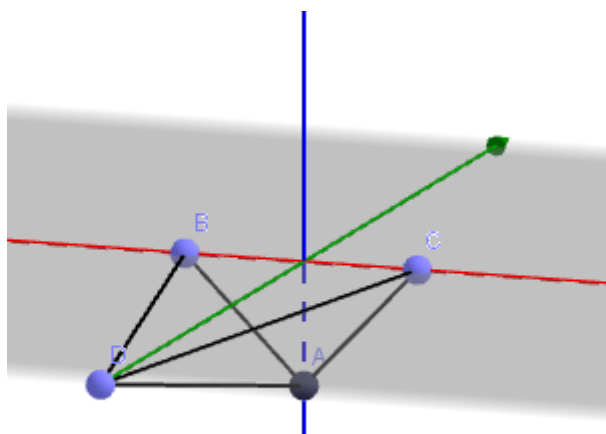


Figure 37: P1's role-space model in VCI B

P2

P2 mentions that she was sworn-in during the VCI B hearing. She feels that VC equipment did not allow her to explain her role, as she would usually do, as not all participants had been physically present in the same room. However, the judge introduced her at the beginning of each hearing in front of every court participant. She further states that she introduced herself to the defendant/witness as they had been in the same room. For these reasons, she believes that every court actor knew that she was the court interpreter. Therefore, her presentation of self was deemed low.

P2 expresses some doubts regarding the quality of the audio feed as "you are never too sure if [the defendant] can hear you" (L104). She was also unsure as to how loud she was allowed to speak at first, and she did not know whether she was speaking too loudly or not. However, she states that "with time you adapt your tone to a normal tone because they have not said speak up or keep your voice down" (L107-8). She does not report any cultural difference that could have impacted on her alignment. However, she states that the body language, tone and register were affected by the use of VCI. As she could not read the court participant's body language, she could not gauge how her performance was received, and whether or not she needed to adapt her register. She usually uses body language to confirm whether they understood or not. However, this is not possible as the camera limits what can be seen. Finally, the proximity with the defendant/witness, and the fact that the room was very small made her feel very

uncomfortable. Overall, it seems that her alignment was equally low with both parties.

P2 states that she was not able to assess whether she needed to intervene or not, as she could not read all the participants' body language in court. However, she could have done so for the participants that were shown on the screen. She adds that it was problematic as she did not know whether the jury understood, for instance. She was not asked to "do anything except interpret" (L246). She hated her experience, and she believes that the other participants did too, as there was a feeling that the "conversation [was] a bit stilted because they just wanted it to be over and done with" (L317). Overall, her interaction management ranged from low to quite high since she would have been able to clear any misunderstandings with the participants shown on screen, but the need to intervene had been lessened by the use of VC equipment.

All in all, her presentation of self was low, her alignment was equally low between the participants, and her interaction management ranged from low to quite high.

Her role-space model could therefore be designed as follows:

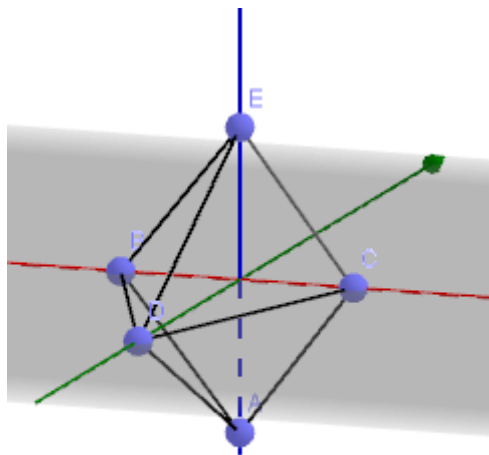


Figure 38: P2's role-space model in VCI B

P3

Similarly to VCI A, P3 mentions that she was sworn-in, although this took place in the absence of the defendant. However, she did not perceive this as an issue as she had managed to introduce herself to the defendant. She believed that it had

been obvious that the parties had acknowledged her as the court interpreter. Therefore, her presentation of self was low.

P3 mentions that the quality of sound was an issue in VCI B, and that the camera did not always show the person who was speaking in court. P3 also states that it was easier in VCI B to establish a relationship with the defendant as they were sitting next to each other. She argues that she was able to rely on body language, and she established a rapport with the defendant. However, she did not find it as easy to replicate this with the court, especially when she needed to alert the court to some issues. For these reasons, P3 states that the use of VCI B led to “extra responsibilities creeping into [interpreting]” (L437). She feels that she was becoming an “advocate” for the defendant (L438). As a result, there was a risk that the interpreter could not “maintain [their] independence and objectivity” (L443-4). For these reasons, P3 aligned more towards the defendant than the court participants.

P3's interaction management was high as she alerted the court to the fact that the defendant was asking for repetitions, or that the court participants had to speak louder. This had been due to the fact that the sound quality had been poor, but also to the proximity with the defendant, who had been more willing to interact with her in VCI B (compared to her experience in VCI A).

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management was quite high. She aligned more towards the participant alignment. Her role-space model could be designed as follows:

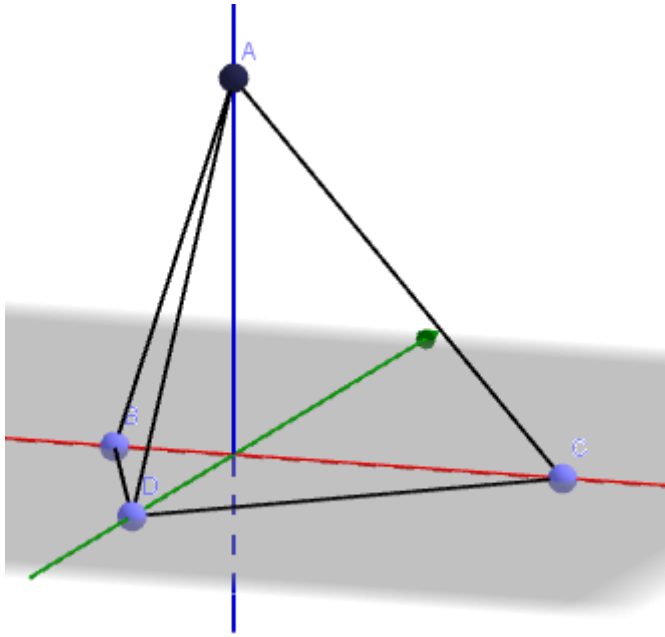


Figure 39: P3's role-space model in VCI B

P4

P4 reports that she was sworn-in at the beginning of the hearing. She was provided with a card where the oath was written so that she could read it aloud. She also provided the court with her name and her NRPSI registration number. She reports that the process was the same as during a face-to-face hearing, and the victim was also sworn-in. Before the start of the hearing, she spent some time with the victim as she had to sight-translate the witness statement, and she also had to interpret when the witness was explained the court process. This gave P4 an opportunity to introduce herself as the court interpreter. Despite spending time with the witness before the hearing, P4 believes that she remained impartial. To illustrate this, she states that at the end, the witness asked for her opinion. P4 replied that she would have to speak to the lawyer and the court. Overall, her presentation of self was low.

P4 reports that body language, tone, and register are very important features when interpreting. She states that she would mimic them in her work. However, she found it difficult to do so in VCI B as the screen was small, and that she was unsure what the court participants, in turn, could see. Nonetheless, she was able to receive some nonverbal feedback as she was still able to see them nod. She indicates that she could hear well. She also states that it was slightly more difficult to render the cultural differences as interpreting was taking more time than usual.

Before the start of the hearing P4 spent an hour with the witness, when they had to go through the statement, and they explained the court process to the victim; she described it as being “a great thing” (L101), and she managed to establish some rapport with the victim then. P4 also spent more time with the witness outside the court as the hearing was interrupted for thirty minutes. P4 had tea with the victim and the CPS. However, she states that during this break, she simply carried on interpreting since they were discussing what would happen at the end of the hearing. Furthermore, when court participants were speaking in court, P4 says that she had to keep the witness calm as she tried to interrupt the proceedings. Therefore, she told her to wait for her turn a few times, as it would be difficult to interpret for several people. The victim then understood, and “it was fine then” (L246). She also states that the victim acknowledged that it was “more difficult for [P4] to do it by video-link, (and) despite the fact that [the witness] was vulnerable, she was ok with [the procedure]” (L253-6). When the witness asked for her opinion, she referred her back to the court. P4 states that she took her advice on board, and P4 felt that she “had the opportunity to help, but in a professional way” (L337-8). With regard to the other participants, P4 feels that there was a distance between her and the participants in court, and she could only see the person speaking, but not the whole court. She also feels that it was slightly more difficult to interrupt them in court when she needed to, “because they were speaking in big parts” (sic. L123). This could also be due to the fact that sometimes “[the court] forgot that [she] was listening” (125). Overall, P4 aligned more with the witness than with the participants in court.

P4 did not report on any dyadic exchanges during the hearing. The witness had some “legitimate question” (L202) at the end of the hearing, which she interpreted to the court. She also states that there were no overlapping speeches, although she acknowledges that these happened in face-to-face when “sometimes the defence lawyer is so aggressive and asks a hundred million questions at once. And before the witness can even answer or even during when he answers, the defence lawyer interrupts sometimes” (L230-3). However, she states that in VCI B, the court “must have taken into consideration that it was through video-link, and (...) it was well organised” (222-5). Nevertheless, issues arose with the length of the speeches, and she had to interrupt court participants several times to ask

them to speak in smaller chunks. It appears that her interaction management was quite high. Despite the effort of the court to ensure that it “was well organised”, thus limiting the need to intervene, she had to seek clarifications and repetitions.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management remained quite high. She also aligned more with the witness than the court. Her role-space model could thus be designed as follows:

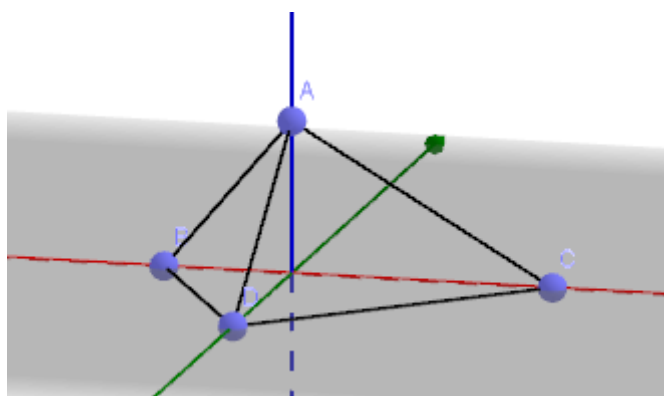


Figure 40: P4's role-space model in VCI B

P5

At first, P5 could not remember if she was sworn-in, but she later states that she was (L223). She introduced herself to the defendant whilst waiting for the video-link to start. She was also asked by the judge to introduce herself again to the defendant when the video-link started. With regard to the court participants, she states that the court knew “who she [was] because they had [her] details” (L226-7). Furthermore, as she had interpreted for the same courtroom previously, she believes that the court participants knew who she was. However, in VCI B, she feels that “the court was watching a bit more attentively because of the distance. They wanted to make sure that everything was done properly” (L 254-5). Nonetheless, she feels that she was trusted as the court interpreter by the court participants. Therefore, it appears her presentation of self, as the court interpreter, was low.

P5 reports that she had difficulties in being able to see and hear well. She mentions that “the screen was a lot smaller, (...) the quality of the image was worse and the sound as well” (L259-60). As a result, she had to ask “a few times what was happening” (P260-1). She believes that the sound and picture quality was better when she was interpreting in VCI A. However, she was able to see well

enough to be able to replicate the body language. She also states that it was more difficult to communicate cultural differences because of the distance between her and the court. She feels that it was taking longer since they had difficulties to see her. She also states that “the defendant was very happy that somebody was with him physically” (P5: L252-3). Before the start of the hearing, he asked her questions, and she replied that she could not “be involved in giving advice or personal things. She was just an interpreter” (L289-90), thus avoiding over-alignment with the defendant. She reports that this would usually happen when official representatives are not yet present (such as whilst waiting for the video-link to start) or in places such as police stations. In general, and although it seems that it was more cumbersome to interpret for the participants in court as it was taking more time, P5 aligned equally between the defendant and the participants in court.

In terms of managing the interactions, P5 reports that the defendant had questions when court participants were speaking, to which she replied: “Please don’t talk, I am listening” (L290). However, when the person speaking in court finished, the interpreter notified them that the defendant had questions, and she interpreted them. She also asked the court to “interpret one sentence at a time because of the distance” (L220-1). Finally, she had to ask for several repetitions as the sound and picture quality was not as good as in VCI A. It appears that P5’s interaction management was high.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and she aligned equally with the defendant and the court participants. Her interaction management was high. Her role-space model could therefore be designed as follows:

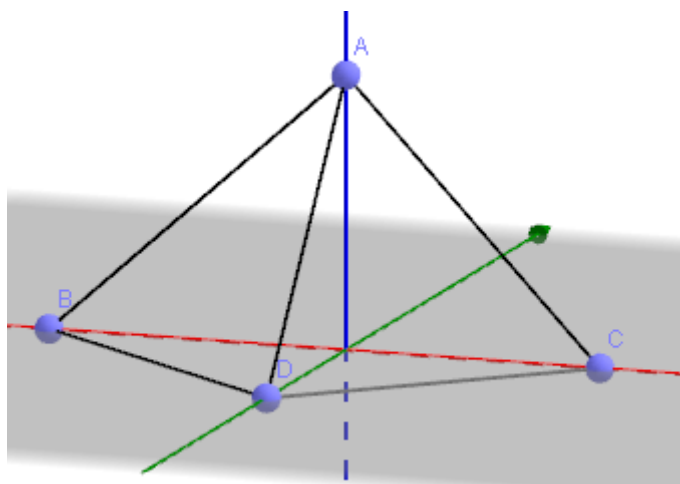


Figure 41: P5's role-space model in VCI B

P6

P6 reports that in VCI B, she was never given the opportunity to be sworn-in.

However, this did not affect her presentation of self as she could introduce herself to the defendant before the start of the hearing. If she did not have the time before the hearing, she sought permission to do it at the beginning. She also mentions that the court acknowledged that she was the interpreter. Furthermore, she believed that she was seen as being impartial. Overall, her presentation of self was low.

P6 reports that she could hear the proceedings well. Similarly to her experience in VCI A, she states that participants' body language in VCI B was diminished as "when they think they are being watched, they tend to be more tense, so they normally just stay still, in one place, not much going on there, you know, other than talking" (L426-8). However, she was still able to receive feedback to verify that the participants in court understood. She also mentions that the room was very small, and she would have to stand up. She did not see it as an issue because she asked for the camera to be adjusted so that participants in court could see her. She mentioned that the defendants were brought in just before the start of the hearing, which reduced any opportunity to engage in dyadic exchanges. Overall, P6 aligned equally with the court and the participant.

P6 reports that she could ask for clarifications and repetitions, and her interaction management remained quite high. However, it is slightly lower than in face-to-face as

resolved. She mentioned that participants in court seemed surprised when she explained confidentiality in her introduction, which suggests that the picture quality was good enough for her to receive some kind of feedback, and she was also able to replicate people's body language. Furthermore, she explained that she would interpret simultaneously any utterances made by anyone, except the interventions made by the witness. As mentioned previously, after the introduction, she positioned herself in such a way that the court was only able to see her forehead as she states that "there [was] no need for [her] to appear on camera. [She was] not giving evidence" (L353-6). She feels that she "was only there for the victim" as there was another interpreter present in court for the defendant (L260).

Interestingly, she seems to align equally between the participant and the witness at the beginning of the hearing, as she provided everyone with the same instructions. But, by then hiding from the camera, P11 aligned more towards the witness for the remainder of the hearing.

P11 asked for clarifications and repetitions a few times, given that as a result of technical issues, either she herself or the participants in court had not heard some words. She did not encounter dyadic exchanges initiated by the witness. However, during the hearing, she states that she had to ask the witness to speak up a few times. To do so, she gestured with her hand so that the witness would understand that she needed to speak louder. She also reports that on several occasions, some participants were speaking at the same time. First, the witness was disputing what the defence barrister was telling the court. In that case, P11 says "the interpreter has requested that the witness does not speak at the same time" (L381-2). She also mentions that participants in court were speaking at the same time. When this occurred, she says "the interpreter cannot interpret when more than one person is talking because the interpreter cannot hear one person over the other" (P385-6). Overall, it appears that her interaction management was high.

Her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management was high. She aligned equally between the parties at the start of the hearing. However, she then reduced her alignment with the court participants. Her role space models (at the start of the hearing and after she moved her chair) could thus be designed as follows:

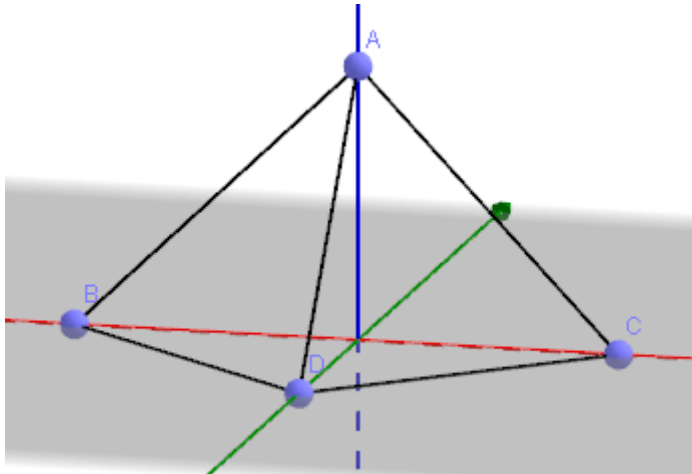


Figure 43: P11's role-space model in VCI B at the start of the hearing

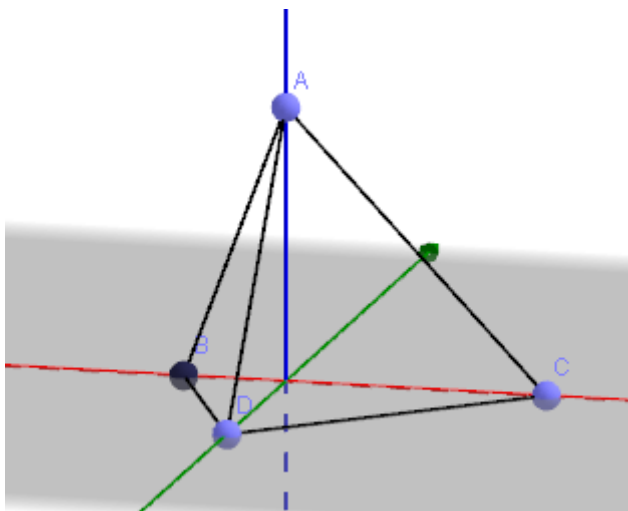


Figure 44: P11's role-space model in VCI B during the hearing

P13

P13 indicates that he was able to be sworn-in at the beginning of the process. Although he expressed some difficulties in remembering whether he was able to be sworn-in at first, he says that he “must have, otherwise [he] would not have been able to interpret. Actually, [he] would have been able to interpret but it wouldn't have been valid for the court” (L71-3). It is interesting to note that although he could not remember, he believes that his performance would not have been admissible, had he not been sworn-in. He also states that he was able to introduce himself to the defendant as he had spent some time with him and his solicitor before the start of the court hearing. Furthermore, he also states that the VCI B set-up did not “affect the status of impartiality of the interpreter” (P13: L108), and he believes that he could remain impartial. Finally, he indicates that the use

of VC equipment could affect participants' trust in the interpreter. He argues that "[VCI B] takes away a lot of the sort of personal trust that people may have in the job that the interpreter is doing. Because if they see you are doing the job, it's one thing. If they see you on the screen, it's another" (L 238-40). It seems that the level of trust between him and the court was lowered. However, this was not the case with the defendant and the solicitor with him in prison. He emphasizes that, in fact, it was easier to establish a relation of trust with the party with whom the interpreter is co-present (L 244). All in all, it appears that VCI B does not affect the introduction/swearing-in process. However, it affects the relationship of trust with the parties on the other side of the screen. Therefore, his presentation of self is lower with the court participants than with the defendant and the solicitor in prison.

P13 reports that the quality of the picture did not matter much to him, as he mainly focused on the sound. He notes that when questions were addressed directly to the defendant, the sound/picture quality was good. However, he encountered more difficulties during the exchanges between the participants in court, as they did not necessarily speak in the microphone, and there was sound feedback. He also mentions that such difficulties can similarly be encountered in the dock in court, where the loudspeakers are "usually not placed in the right place" (L163). In fact, he asserts that "the video-link is probably better technically than the sound in the courtroom" (L167-8). He did not report any problems in terms of cultural differences, and this could be due to the fact that the hearing was short. Finally, he indicates that "ask[ing] the judge to stop or ask something from the jury or from whoever maybe a little bit more difficult" (L138-9). However, he also states that VCI B made it easier to "talk to the defendant's solicitor" (L140) as he was sitting next to him, and he could ask him questions. Overall, it seems that P13 aligns more with the defendant and the solicitor present than with the court.

P13 reports that there were occasions when he could not hear what was uttered in court. This was attributable to the fact that the court participants were not speaking into the microphone, or to sound feedback. He states that as a result, "a lot was lost" (L95). It seems that he was playing a rather passive part, and he did not seek to highlight the issue to the participants in court. However, he mentions that he could also ask the solicitor who "could help you maybe if there is something to ask to the judge" (P13: L141). It appears that his interaction management with the

court was very low. However, his interaction management with the participants in prison was higher, and this was notably due to the presence of the defendant's solicitor.

To summarise, his presentation of self with the court was very low, and was low with the defendant and the solicitor. He aligned more with the defendant and the solicitor than the court. Finally, his interaction management was very low with the court, compared to that of the defendant and the solicitor. His role-space model could therefore be designed as follows:

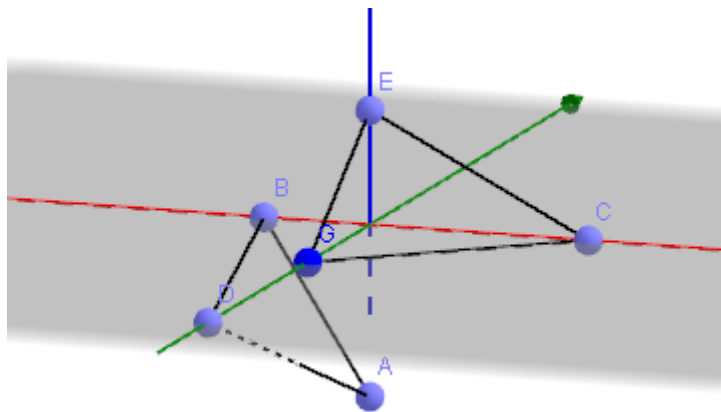


Figure 45: P13's role-space model in VCI B

P14

P14 did not recall being sworn-in at the start of the hearing. In fact, she believes that she was not sworn-in as she later had to go to court to interpret for another witness, who was giving evidence from the witness box and she was sworn-in then. She was able to introduce herself to the witness, and briefly explain her role before the start of the hearing. However, she was not able to replicate the process to the court as “there was no such opportunity as in the courtroom, when everyone is faced with the bench” (L82-3). Interestingly, she did not raise this as an issue, and it could be hypothesized that as she was sworn-in at a later stage, she did not believe that it impacted on her overall presentation of self with the court. In terms of impartiality or confidentiality, she states that technology “[didn’t] impact at all (...) on ethics of the profession” (L117-8). Finally, although she believes that it was obvious in court that she was the court interpreter, she states that “to assert oneself, it is much easier when you are in the courtroom” (L89-90). Therefore, as it was more difficult to assert herself as the court interpreter, her presentation of self was lower with the participants in court than with the witness.

P14 did not indicate any issues in terms of sound or picture quality. She states that the hearing was well organised. On the screen, she could only see the defence counsel when they were cross-examining the witness. However, as she could not see “the actual defence counsel at close proximity”, she had “to listen very carefully to each question so it required additional concentration” (L70-3). As a result, she asked for a few repetitions, and she found that in such situation, “the counsel was very accommodating, so was the court” (L98) When asked about not being able to see the other participants in court, she states that she would rather focus solely on the defence counsel’s face as she may find it distracting if she could see the other court actors, and it could impact on the quality of her performance. She does not recall intervening during the hearing, other than to seek repetitions, and she argues that the need to intervene between parties tended to occur most of the time at the police station rather than in court. However, she asserts that she would “definitely intervene and explain” (L148-9) a cultural reference, for instance, if the need arose. She adds that although she was not in court, she “wouldn’t feel intimidated by technology” (L149). Overall, it seems that she aligned equally with the witness and the court.

P14 reports that the hearing was “very straightforward. It didn’t pose any difficulties” (L94-5). She believes that the hearing “was very orderly” (L154), and as mentioned previously, she only asked for a few repetitions. She also reports that there was no overlapping speech or dyadic exchanges. As per previous participants, it seems that her interaction management ranged from low to quite high as she had asked for a few repetitions, but as the hearing had been “very straightforward” with no overlapping speeches or dyadic exchanges, the need to manage it had been lessened by the use of VC equipment.

Overall, her presentation of self was very low with the court and low with the witness, and her interaction management ranged from low to quite high. She aligned equally with the court and the witness. Her role-space model could thus be designed as follows:

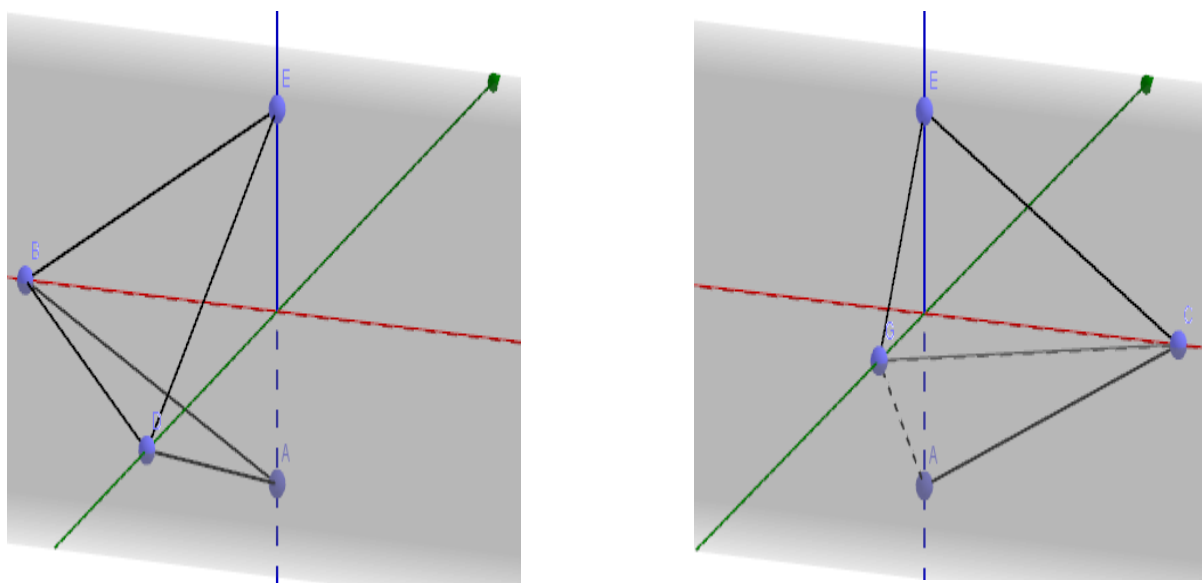


Figure 46: P4's role-space with the participants in court (left) and the witness (right) in VCI B

P15

P15 states that she was not sworn-in at the beginning of the hearing. However, she introduced herself to the defendant before the hearing, and she was also asked to introduce herself to the court at the start of the hearing. She asserts that VCI B did not impact on impartiality, and that in fact, “in any setting, background, place, an interpreter has to remain impartial at all times. I was just doing my job, interpreting for him” (L130-1). It therefore appears that her presentation of self was low.

P15 does not report on any issues related to the sound or picture quality. She highlights that it was essential to communicate the body language, the tone, and the register when she interpreted in legal settings. She states that she had to

show or copy the voice, the gestures, things that they do or the way that they sound or convey the idea. (...) [Interpreters] have to make sure that [they] express what [the other participants] are saying and how they feel as well. (L150-3)

In VCI B, however, she acknowledges that communicating paralinguistic features may be more difficult than in a face-to-face hearing. She compares the situation to a movie when

the camera is on you, you have to make sure that you express (...) the anger or the fear or whatever emotion the person being interpreted for is expressing in their own language. You are being them, without being all over the top. (L172-5)

Interestingly, although she admits that it is more difficult, and it can be “a bit awkward” as she is not physically present in court (L169), it does not seem that VCI B affects her abilities to read the participants’ body language or to render it when she interprets. She also indicates that she did not have to explain any cultural differences as “it was quite clear and straight forward” (L182).

Furthermore, she also states that she did not have to engage in dyadic exchanges with the parties. Finally, in terms of feedback from the participant on the other side of the screen, P15 heard once the court clerk saying to the judge “it was very clear. Very good interpreting and everything” (L347). Overall, it appears that she aligned equally with the defendant and the court.

P15 reports that there had been no need to ask for clarification or repetitions as the hearing was “quite clear and straightforward” (L182). However, she also states that she would have asked if she had needed to do so. In fact, she states that she had been “quite impressed” with the set-up, when she had previously thought the hearing could have been “quite awkward” (L169), but the court participants had made the hearing “straightforward” (L188-91). She also states that court participants had not sought to enter in a dyadic exchange (P15: L196). However, the defendant had tried once to enter in a dyadic exchange, although she admitted that such occasions had been rare in courts, and it would have been more predominant in other settings. She states that:

I put them back in their place. I was saying, no, listen, (...) don’t look at me, just listen, pay attention and look at the screen. And I am there for you but don’t ask me directly questions. And I am here for you but don’t ask me directly questions. I am only interpreting what you are saying or what they are saying. Don’t ask me. (sic. L202-5)

It appears that her interaction management ranged from low to high.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management ranged from low to high. She aligned equally with the court and the defendant. Her role-space model in VCI B could therefore be designed as follows:

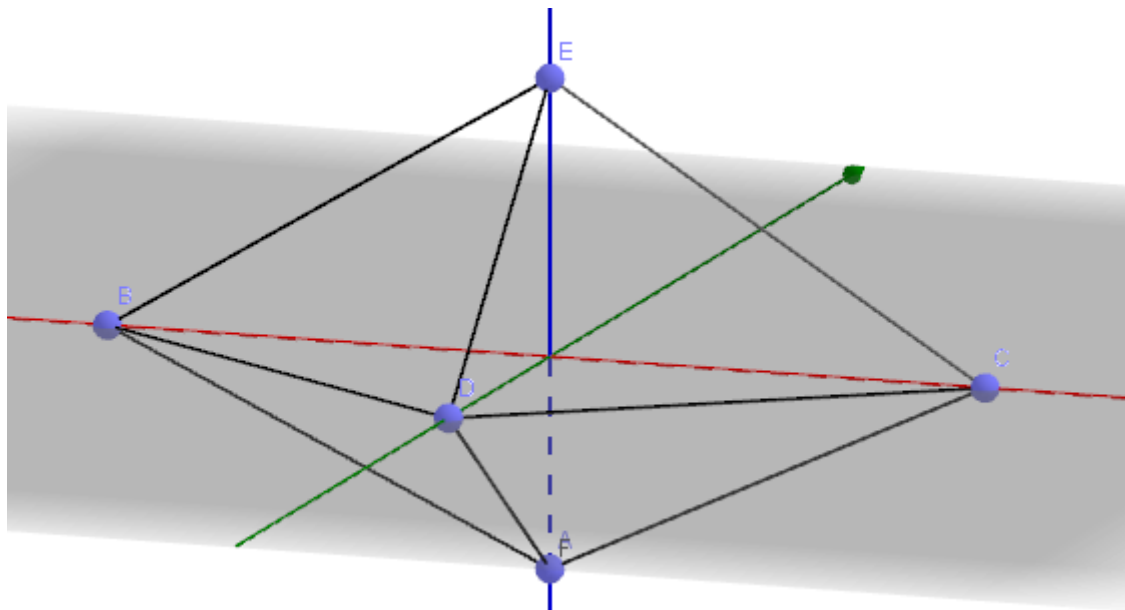


Figure 47: P15's role-space model in VCI B

P16

P16 states that she was sworn-in, but she could not remember if this was done in court before the VCI B session started, or if it was at the start of the VCI B session. She claims that she had to be sworn-in, as is always the case in court. However, whether the witness saw the process or not did not seem to affect P16's presentation of self as she argues that witnesses only appeared when they needed to give evidence. She was also able to introduce herself to the witness before the start of the hearing. Overall, it seems that her presentation of self was low.

P16 does not report any issues in terms of sound or picture quality or body-language related difficulties. P16 also indicates that she would usually intervene to ask witnesses to speak louder as she "always have to make sure that it is what they says" (L312-3). It seems that the need to intervene to the court on the other side of the screen may be lower as the court participants seemed more aware of the fact that the hearing was taking place in VCI B. Indeed, P16 states that the participants in court "try to slow down and ask questions more sensitively. They don't, from my experience, they don't shoot in huge speed" (sic. L301-2). She

mentions that this only occurred with witnesses when giving evidence since they may have lived a traumatic experience. When interpreting for defendants, she thought that the court participants were “more rushed” (L305), as she already mentioned when narrating her experience in VCI A. Furthermore, before the start of the hearing, she spent some time with the witness where she had “a moment to sort of make [the witness] more comfortable” (L283), which seems to suggest that her alignment with the witness could be higher than that of the court. Also, it seems that the over-alignment with the witness was heightened by the size of the courtroom. Indeed, P16 states that “you are not fully aware that there is a big courtroom listening to you. Because you are sitting in a small room so that might be the only difference” (L295-6). It transpires that P16 aligned more with the witness than with the participants in court.

P16 states that she would ask the witness to repeat if “they speak not clearly or too quietly” (L312). In general, she would not hesitate to step in to clarify a mistake that she may have made. To illustrate her point, she narrates an event when she made a mistake, and told the judge afterwards. She says that she “had the duty to let them know that [she] wasn’t quite sure what the defendant said” (L323-3). However, this happened in face-to-face interactions, and it seems that the court was more attentive to the interpreter’s needs when the hearing was taking place in VCI B, hence reducing the need to intervene. Furthermore, she had experience of overlapping speeches in the past, but never in court. It transpires that P16’s interaction management ranged from low to quite high.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management ranged from low to quite high. However, her alignment with the witness was higher than that of the court, which was the opposite of her experience in VCI A. Her role-space model could thus be designed as follows:

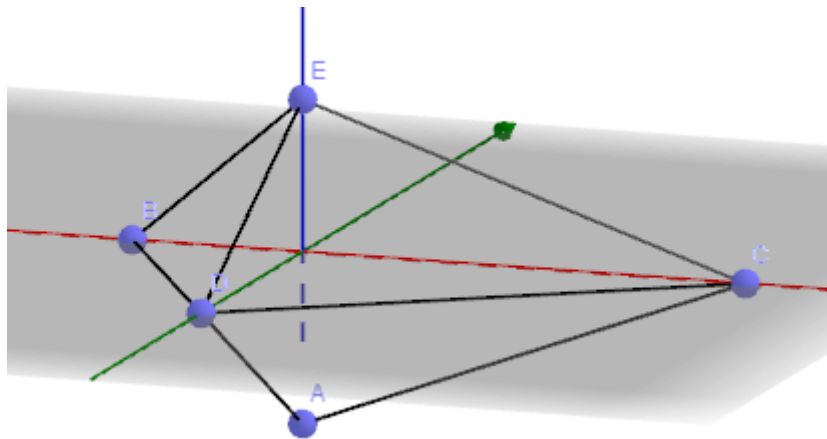


Figure 48: P16's role-space model in VCI B

P17

P17 reports that she was not always sworn-in. She states that court participants “tend[ed] to forget about interpreters having to be sworn-in when they [were] not in a courtroom” (L219-220). She also states that she was not always introduced to the court participants, which would mean that her presentation of self with the court was very low. Her presentation of self with the defendant would be slightly higher as she was able to introduce herself.

P17 also believes that the participants in court could not see her on their screen. When asked if this had an impact on her role, she states that she, in fact, preferred not to be seen by the participants in court. Although she states that it had an impact on her as feeling valued and being seen as a mouthpiece, she still appreciated not being seen by the court. Furthermore, it seems that she could not see all the court participants, and “you might just see one person in the courtroom asking the question or talking. And I like to observe people and get their expression and so maybe for that reason, I maybe don’t like it that much” (L182-5). She also states that she would not have hesitated to intervene to clarify a cultural reference, although she did not have to do so. Finally, she felt uncomfortable being so closed to the defendant in VCI B, although, in face-to-face, she did not mind being in the dock with them as there were other people present. Interestingly, the fact that she was uncomfortable depended not just on the size of the room, but also on the offence that the defendant had allegedly committed. It therefore transpires that she aligned equally with the court and the defendant, although her participant alignment was low with all the parties.

P17 reports that she could ask for repetitions and clarification to the court. In fact, she states that as an interpreter, “You have to” (L278). Overall, it does not seem that her interaction management with the court was affected. Furthermore, she states that there are fewer opportunities for the defendant to enter in a dyadic exchange. She also noted that defendants tended to be quieter as “for quite a lot of people (...) the video-link [was] a novelty as well. So they [were] thinking about that more than asking questions” (L252-3). However, she could have asked for repetitions if needed. Overall, her interaction management ranged from low to high.

Overall, it appears that her presentation of self with the court was very low, whilst her presentation of self with the defendant was low. Her alignment with participants was equally low. Finally, her interaction management had ranged from low to high. Her role-space model could thus be designed as follows:

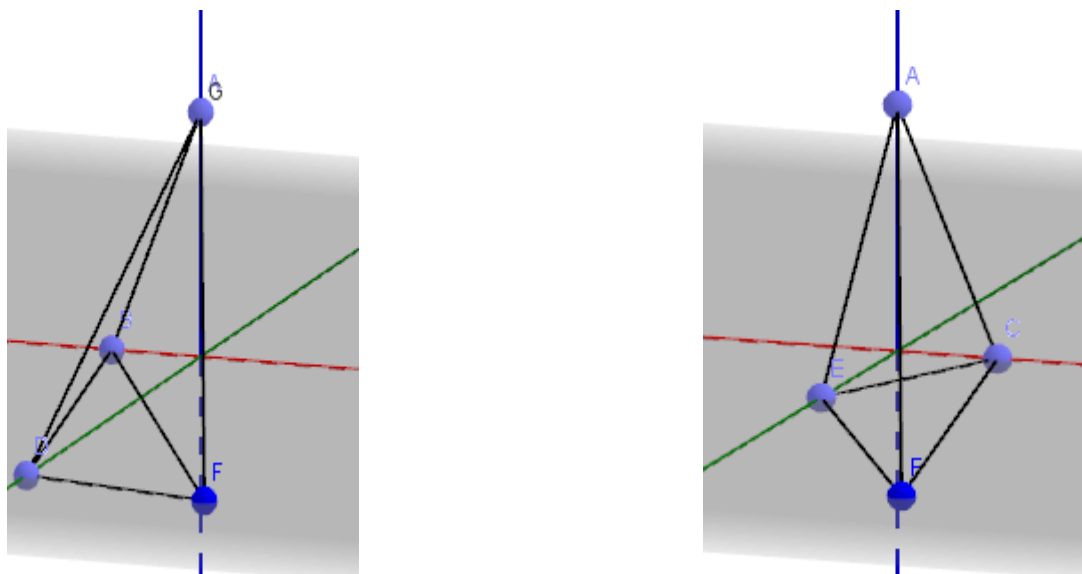


Figure 49: P17's role-space model with the participants in court (left) and the defendant (right) in VCI B

P18

P18 could not remember whether she was sworn-in or not. However, she states that she “might have been sworn-in. Otherwise, they wouldn’t know why [she was] there” (L246-7). She also states that at the start of the process, everyone had to introduce themselves and “show their face” (L250). Based on that introduction, she believed that all the participants knew that she was the interpreter. Furthermore, as in VCI A, she reports that impartiality was not affected by the use of VCI B. Overall, it appears that her presentation of self was low.

P18 did not report on any issues in terms of participant alignment. She was able to replicate the tone, the body language, and the register most of the time. She also states that she preferred VCI B to VCI A as she would still hear the proceedings in court, but she could obtain feedback from the defendant. Overall, P18 aligned equally with the participants and the defendant.

P18 states that “there [were] no particular constraints” to ask for clarifications or repetitions (L282). However, it is unclear whether or not she did seek clarification during the hearing. She also states that a solicitor was always present with her in prison. This could explain why the defendant never entered in a dyadic exchange. They would only speak to her directly if “they really didn’t understand [her] interpretation. But [she hadn’t] come across that much” (L288-9). It therefore appears that management interaction would be possible, and it ranged from low to quite high.

Overall, her presentation of self was low, and her interaction management ranged from low to quite high. Her alignment with the court and the participants was equal, unlike in VCI A. Her role-space model could therefore be designed as follows:

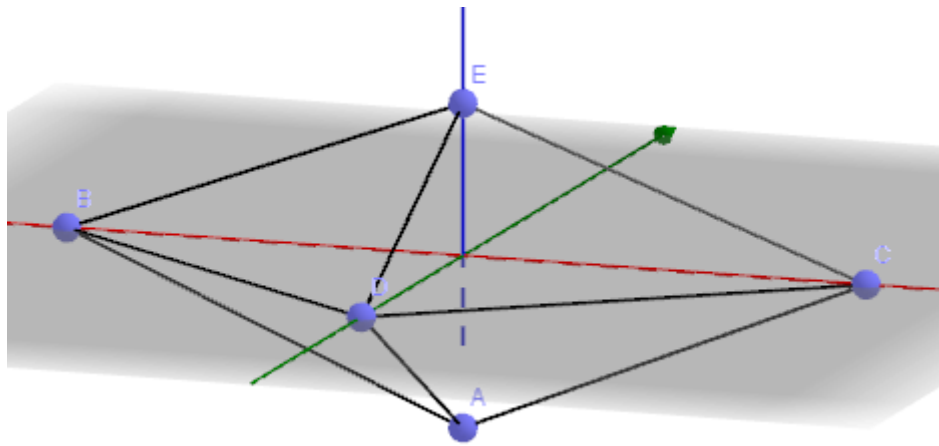


Figure 50: P18's role-space model in VCI B

Appendix B: Interview questions/pointers

INTRODUCTION

Before the interview begins:

- a. Introduce myself and my roles as an academic and a researcher and court interpreter.
- b. Overview of the study and define VCI: video link when the witness or defendant is not in court but can be seen and heard via a screen and a microphone. Usually the defendant will be in prison or the witness will be in another location.
- c. Check that the participant understood the information they received – go through the main points of the Participant Information Form.
- d. Go through the Participant Consent Form and explain the interview procedure (interview recorded/ 60 minute long/ the interview will be transcribed by me) and what will be done with the information they provide. Stress anonymity and confidentiality. Ensure that I have a signed Participant Consent Form before the start of the interview.
- e. Check the digital voice recorder is working.
- f. Emphasise that there is no right or wrong answers; I am interested in their perceptions.

THEMES COVERED (this is a list of questions used as pointers in the semi-structured interviews)

List of pointers for interpreters

I. Setting the scene

Could you tell me more about yourself? How did you end up becoming a court interpreter?

How would you define your role as a court interpreter, in general, in any type of settings?

II. focusing on VCI – role-space

How many times have you interpreted in VCI?

Thank you. Now if you agree, I would like to explore in more detail each of these interpreting assignments.

Could you describe the environment you were working in for the first assignment? Were you in court or prison? What kind of courts? Where did you stand? Did you interpret in simultaneous or consecutive mode?

Presentation of self

Were you sworn in?

Could you introduce yourself?

Did you think everyone was aware that you were the interpreter, on both side of the screen?

How easy was it to interpret?

N.B do they present themselves as being impartial? Is there any issue with trust?

Participant alignment

Could you hear well? Some people say that interpreters should reflect the body language, tone and register. Is it something that you do normally? Was it easy to do it in VCI?

Did you think that it was easy to communicate cultural differences?

Could you see whether the person/people on the other side of the screen understand what you were saying?

Did you think that it was easy to intervene if there were some misunderstanding?

Interaction management

Was it easy to ask for clarifications or repetitions?

Were there moments where people would ask you direct question or you were involved in a conversation with one or more of the other participants?

Were there moments where two people were speaking at the same time? Did you have a strategy to interpret both speech at this point?

Did you have to step in at some point to be able to do your job?

III. focusing on VCI – Translation

Problematisation

Do you remember all the people who were present?

So how would you define the role that you played during that assignment?

Interessement

How do you think the other participants perceived your role?

Do you think they perceived you as an essential link in the interaction? Apart from the linguistic element of your job, did you think that you can have an influence on the interaction? For example, do you play a role in the way the interaction take place?

Enrolement

Did you feel that you could negotiate your role during the interaction? Or could you have done so if there had been an issue?

Mobilisation

Do you feel like you have to renegotiate your role on a regular basis? How? Why is it the case?

END OF INTERVIEW

Would you like to add/ask anything else before we finish?

Remind them about the transcribed interview and get an address for forwarding, if applicable.

Do you have any other colleague that may be interested in taking part in this interview? If so, could you forward them the material I will send you?

Thank you again for taking part.

Appendix C: NVivo trees

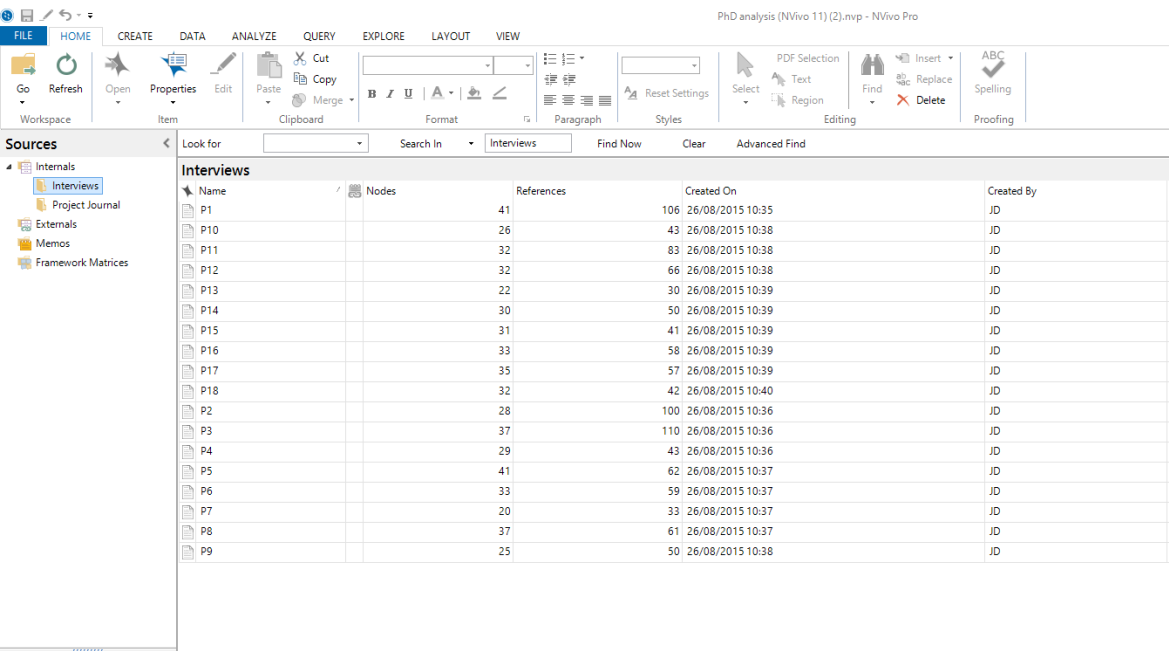


Figure 51: NVivo - overall structure

PhD analysis (NVivo 11) (2).nvp - NVivo Pro

FILE HOME CREATE DATA ANALYZE QUERY EXPLORE LAYOUT VIEW

Go Refresh Open Properties Edit Paste Copy Cut Merge Format Paragraph Styles Reset Settings Select Text PDF Selection Find Replace Insert Spelling

Workspace Item Clipboard Editing Proofing

Nodes

Look for Search In Nodes Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Name	Sources	References
enrolment		9 17
impartiality		4 5
trust		0 0
how easy to interpret		0 0
obvious that interpreter present for all participant		0 0
sworn in and being introduced as court interpreter		1 1
intervening		2 5
feedback and back channeling		0 0
cultural differences		0 0
Body language, tone and register		0 0
Could hear and see well		2 5
Mobilisation		10 20
intersement		0 0
Stepping in		0 0
Strategies to interpret overlapping speeches		1 1
overlapping speeches		1 1
Direct questions and diadic conversations		2 2
clarification and repetition		1 1
problematisation		0 0
number of VCI assignments		15 16
qualification		18 27
years of experience		14 17
feelings about court interpreting		9 15
defendants' perception of VCI		10 20
reasons to chose VCI		9 19
training and research		8 20
interpreters' experience in VCI		5 6
VCI technology equipment		17 74
codes of conduct and ethics		5 13
sim or consec		14 17
where to stand		7 13
role definition		18 27
feelings about VCI		17 73
types of settings and hearings		16 44

Sources

Nodes

Classifications

Collections

Queries

Reports

Maps

Folders

Figure 52: NVivo - sample of parents and free nodes

PhD analysis (NVivo 11) (2).nvp - NVivo Pro

FILE HOME CREATE DATA ANALYZE QUERY EXPLORE LAYOUT VIEW

Go Refresh Open Properties Edit Paste Copy Cut Merge Clipboard Format Paragraph Styles Reset Settings Select Text Region PDF Selection Find Replace Delete Insert Spelling

Workspace Item Editing Proofing

Nodes

Look for Search In Nodes Find Now Clear Advanced Find

Name	Sources	References
enrolment		17
Impartiality		5
VCI A		9
VCI B		16
trust		0
VCI A		3
VCI B		6
how easy to interpret		0
VCI A		16
VCI B		18
obvious that interpreter present for all participant		0
VCI A		7
VCI B		2
sworn in and being introduced as court interpreter		1
VCI A		24
VCI B		23
intervening		5
VCI A		26
VCI B		21
feedback and back channeling		0
VCI A		22
VCI B		10
cultural differences		0
VCI A		4
VCI B		8
Body language, tone and register		0
Could hear and see well		5
Mobilisation		20
intersement		0
Stepping in		0

Sources

Nodes

Classifications

Collections

Queries

Reports

Maps

Folders

Figure 53: sample of children nodes

Appendix D: Role-space fact sheet

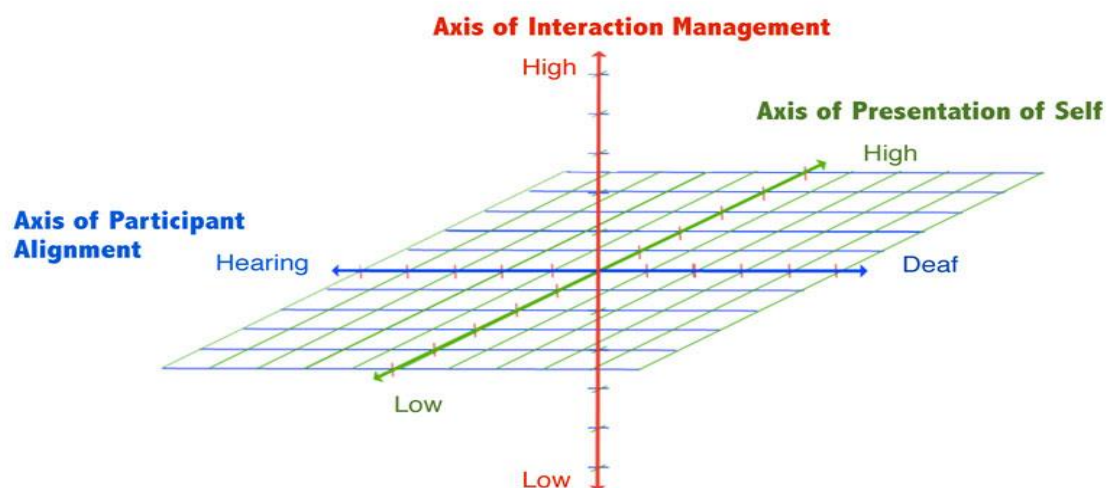
Role-space

The following is a brief explanation of role-space, which was used to analyse the court interpreter's perception of their role in Videoconference Interpreting. It was mostly copied or paraphrased from Lee, R. & Llewellyn-Jones, P. (2014)

Redefining the role of the community interpreter: The concept of role-space. SLI Limited: Carlton-le-Moorland. If you would like access to this monograph, do not hesitate to let me know.

1) What is role-space?

Role-space is a 3D representation of a participant's role. It is based on three axes: presentation of self, participant alignment, and interaction management.



Lee & Llewellyn-Jones

(Lee and Llewellyn-Jones (2014)'s role-space axes)

2) Defining the axes

a. Presentation of self

The first axis refers to the interpreter and how she presents herself to the other court participants, that is whether she speaks/ acts for and/or about herself. It includes any information about the interpreter's self, ranging from:

- introducing herself as the interpreter and referring to herself only as ‘the interpreter’ (so, to some extent, considering herself as not taking part in the interaction)

To

- being much more present as a person in the interaction by answering direct questions (e.g.: does she think that the defendant should plead guilty or not), divulging private information about herself (for instance, answering a defendant who asked where she was born), or giving insights into her likes and dislikes (such as her favourite football team).

b. Participant alignment:

The participant alignment axis refers to “how much the interpreter is directing their communication to, or seeming to identify with, a specific participant” (Llewelyn-Jones and Lee, 2011: 5).

For instance, the more the interpreter reads feedback from the other person’s body language and back-channels through her body language to show to a party that she understands what they are saying, or smile when a party makes a joke, or intervenes directly to explain interpreting process to one party, the more the interpreter aligns with that party (Llewelyn-Jones and Lee, 2011: 5). If she does the same with all the parties, then she would align equally.

Example of alignment features:

- Addressing a participant directly: can you please repeat that last statement?
- Smiling when the party makes a humorous contribution
- Explaining aspects of interpreting process to one party (e.g. having to summarise because the interpreter can’t hear everything)
- Back channelling/ feedback

c. Interaction Management:

The third axis is interaction management and it deals with how the interpreter manages the intervention. For instance, does the interpreter seek clarifications or repetitions, does she manage overtly or covertly turn takings, does she ask for some specific actions (could a party speak slower so that the interpreter can catch up/ can the parties not speak at the same time so the interpreter can interpret)?

3) Evaluating the participants’ interviews on the axes

The interaction management and the presentation of self are assessed based on a continuum from low to high. For instance, a low presentation of self would be when a court interpreter takes the oath and/or she introduces herself in court. Participants would know who the interpreter is, amongst the other court participants, but they would not know more information about her as a person. At

the opposite end of the spectrum, a high presentation of self could include the interpreter divulging more personal information to a court party such as how long she has been living in England, if she supports Manchester United or City, or if she has children.

From the same token, a high interaction management would occur when the interpreter is asking for repetitions or clarifications, and arbitrating turn-taking, whereas an interpreter with a low interaction management would not do so.

Finally, in terms of participants' alignment, the further away from the point of origin in the Cartesian plane, the more the interpreter would align with the party, be it the court and/or the defendant/witness.

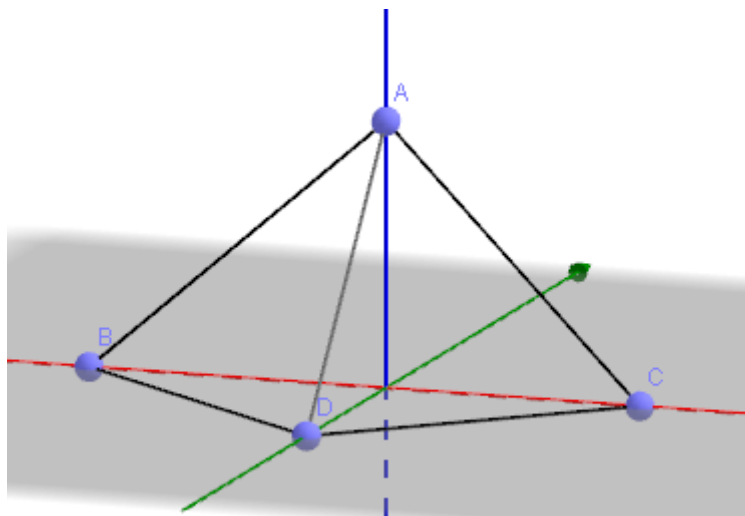
4) Applying the model to interview transcripts

N.B. One sentence in a transcript could fall within different categories

Utterance	Presentation of self	Interaction Management	Participant Alignment
Hello, Mr Smith, my name is James Jones and I'll be interpreting the meeting today.	X Some very minimal introduction = low presentation of self		X Only speaking to English speaker and not interpreting it to the other party = aligns more with the English speaker
I am sorry, can you repeat that?		X Intervening so that she can interpret	X Only speaking to English speaker and not interpreting it to the other party = aligns more with the English speaker
I'm sorry to interrupt but, as the meeting is running longer than expected, I will need to take a break soon.	X Looking at the interpreter's need as a person = high presentation of self	X Intervening for quality assurance purposes	

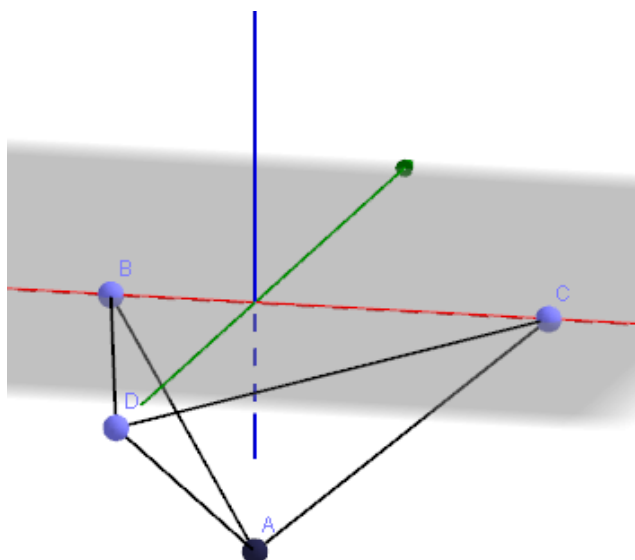
One could imagine the following scenario (scenario 1): after analysing the interview transcript, it appears that the court interpreter introduced herself to the parties, and was sworn in at the beginning of the hearing, but did not divulge more

information than that required to be identified as the court interpreter (namely her name and maybe her NRPSI registration number). During the hearing, the interpreter read the participants' body language to obtain feedback, and she back-channelled to the person speaking to show that she understood what was being said. She established eye-contact with the English speaking court participants, and she did the same when she interpreted to the defendant. She did not hesitate to interrupt the interactions in order to seek clarifications, and she interjected when speeches were over-lapping so that she could give turns. In such a hypothetical court scenario, it could be argued that her presentation of self would be low, and her interaction management would be high. Furthermore, she would align equally between the court participants and the defendant. Her role-space model would be designed as follows:



(Scenario 1: Hypothesised court interpreter's model)

One could imagine a similar situation but this time (scenario 2), the interpreter was not introduced, and she was not sworn-in. In that case, her presentation of self would be very low. Also, for some reasons she could establish eye contact with the defendant only, and she could only read his body language, and would back-channel when he speaks. However, she could not replicate this with the court participants. In that case, she would align more with the defendant than the other court participants. Finally, all the participants wait for the interpreter to finish before they speak, and there was no linguistic ambiguity or cultural references for instance. Therefore, she does not need to seek clarifications or repetitions. In that case, her interaction management would be very low. Her role-space model would be designed as follows:



(Scenario 2: Hypothesised court interpreter's model)

It is worth noting that for the sake of clarity, the models' axes presented in this document were not labelled interaction management, presentation of self and alignment. However, they are to be interpreted in accordance with the same labelling principles as described in Figure 1.

5) Operationalising the interview questions

The first two-thirds of the interview questions tend to relate to role-space. Not all the questions listed below were asked as they were used only as pointers, and the order may change (sometimes the interviewee had already answered a question previously, so it was not asked again).

The questions were divided into three main categories, each representing one Role-Space axis. Pointers on Presentation of Self were thematised around the introduction/sworn-in process, impartiality, trust, and how easy and obvious participants felt that they were seen as the court interpreter by the other court actors. With regard to Participant Alignment, themes evolved around body language, tone and register, cultural differences, feedback and back-channelling, the possibility to hear and see the other participants, or to intervene. Finally, Pointers dealing with seeking clarification or repetition, managing dyadic exchanges, and overlapping speeches were used to gather data on Interaction Management.

These themes were discussed for VCI A (i.e. when the interpreter is in court but the defendant or witness is in another location) and VCI B (i.e. when the interpreter is with the defendant or witness in another location and the other participants such as the judge and the lawyers are in court). Depending on the participant's experience, the court interpreter's perception of their role is analysed in VCI A and/or VCI B in each transcript.

Thank you again for taking the time to verify my analysis. This is very much appreciated! If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me.

Appendix E: Diagrams representing VCI and RI

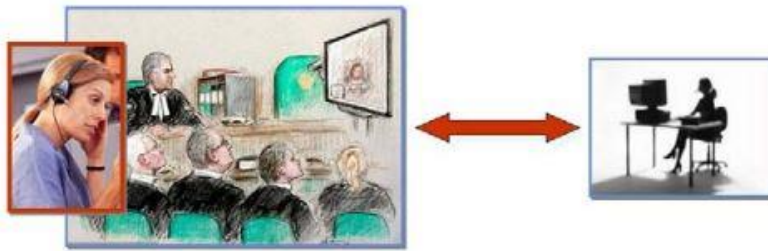


Figure 54: VCI A: the interpreter is in the courtroom, whilst the defendant for instance is in prison

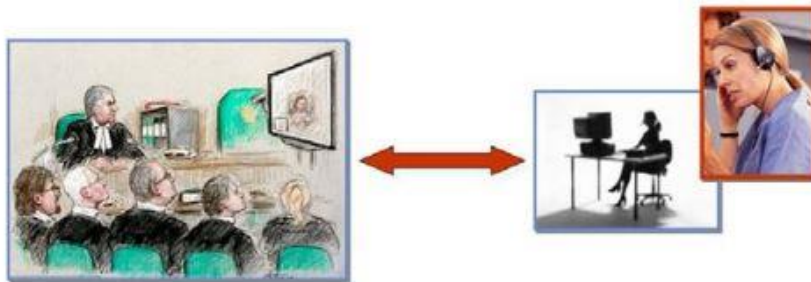


Figure 55: VCI B: the interpreter is in prison, sitting next to the defendant



Figure 56: RI: all the parties are in the same room, except the interpreter who is in a different location



Figure 57: Combination of VCI and RI: all the parties are in different location

These diagrams are from Braun and Taylor (2011b, p. 34)

Statutes

Crime and Disorder Act, 1998

Criminal Justice Act 1988

Criminal Justice Act 2003

European Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters between European Countries, 2000

European Directive on the Right to Interpretation and Translation in Criminal Proceedings, 2010

European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1950

Police and Criminal Justice Act, 2006

Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act, 1999

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